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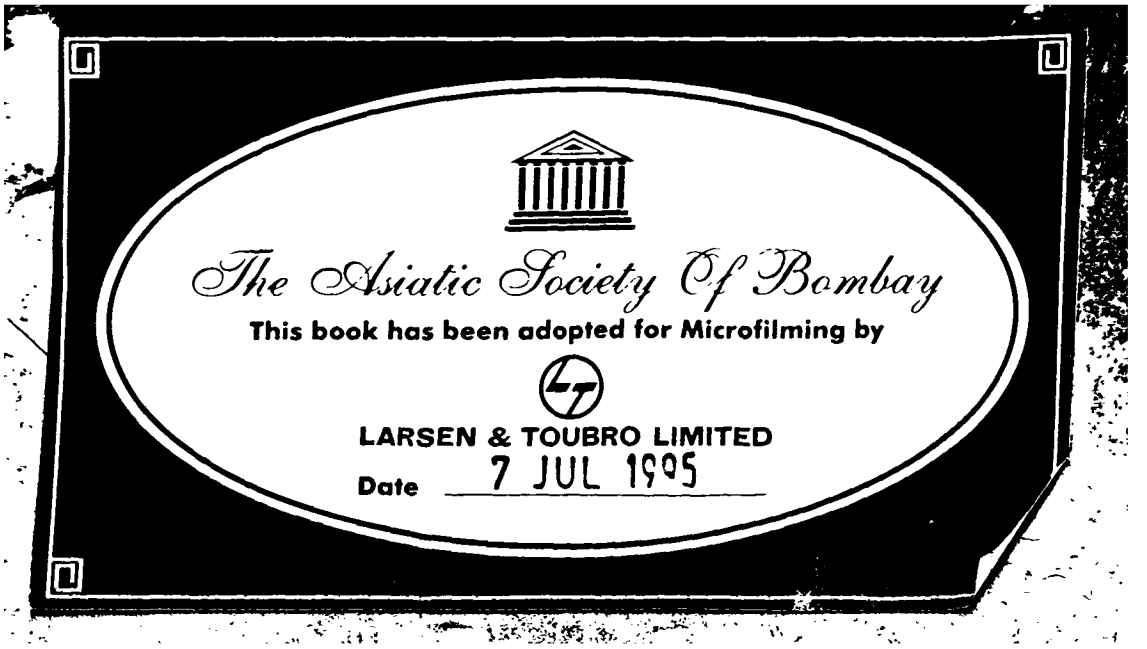

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A HISTORY OF OUR RELATIONS

WITH

THE ANDAMANESE.

COMPILED FROM HISTORIES AND TRAVELS, AND FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

BY

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FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA,
OFFICER IN CHARGE OF THE ANDAMANESE.

VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS book has been written at the request of Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Temple, C.I.E., Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, who, on assuming that office in August 1894, was anxious that the records of the Government relations with the Andamanese, which were perishing, with all that had been written about this interesting race before our occupation of their islands, should be condensed into one work before it was too late.

After giving a description of the Andaman Islands, and of the appearance and customs of the Andamanese, I quote all that has been written about those islands from the earliest times up to the date of our first Settlement on them in the last century; and the present work, if not containing all that is known, at least has, between two covers, a larger number of the earlier records than any other; for, in addition to the assistance afforded me in this direction by Colonel Yule's article on the Andaman Islands in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and by Mr. Man's book, "The Andaman Islanders"; copies have been made for me of documents in the libraries of the India Office, of the British Museum, and of the Home Department of the Government of India, in Calcutta.

I then include all that can be discovered regarding our occupation of the Andamans from 1789 to 1796, and am indebted to Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., for a copy of Lieutenant Colebrooke's little known paper on the Andamanese, one of the most important extracts in the book; the few notices of the Andamans which are found between 1796 and 1857 are then given, including the interesting account of the wrecks

of the British ships *Briton* and *Runnymede* on the Archipelago Islands.

All the papers relating to our present occupation of the Andamans are quoted, and the circumstances which led up to that occupation, and from 1858 a continued history of our relations with the Andamanese compiled from the reports of the different Superintendents of Port Blair, and of the Officers in charge of the Andamanese, is written, with the comments and orders of the Government of India, and the policy laid down by that Government regarding our attitude towards the aborigines.

I also re-publish such original writings on the Andamanese as have hitherto been considered of weight, and have guided scientific authors in the conclusions they have formed regarding this people.

Where possible, I have let each official tell his own story in his own words, by quoting the records *in extenso*; correcting in notes statements or conclusions which subsequent experience has shown to be erroneous; in the chapters regarding my own administration of the Andamanese, particularly of the Little Andaman, I have, in order to avoid the involved diction which would have occurred had I written of myself in the third person, and noted on my remarks in the first person, used the first person throughout at the risk of an accusation of egoism, but I have been so intimately associated with the Andamanese and their administration for the past sixteen years, that it would have been difficult to write otherwise.

Where I have criticised the work of others I hope that my criticisms may be taken in the spirit in which they were written; *viz.*, an anxiety that the public should know the exact truth, so far as it can be learnt, regarding a race which will shortly be extinct. With that object a series of works, of which this is one, is being

written by the direction of the Trustees of the British Museum, and this series is to contain a photographic record of the Andamanese in every action of their lives; comparative vocabularies of the dialects spoken by them, with specimens of their tales, legends, songs, etc.; and a general answer to the questions put in "Notes and Queries on Anthropology."

Much of this work is well in hand, and when finished will be presented to the public through the British Museum and the Government of India.

For the assistance which has been given me, without which the above-mentioned work could not have been undertaken, I have to express my thanks to Sir A. Wollaston Franks, K.C.B., a Trustee of the British Museum, and to Mr. C. H. Read of the British Museum; to the Secretary of State for India, who issued an order that I was to receive all reasonable facilities for the undertaking; to successive Viceroys of India, and other officials of high rank in India, who have issued similar orders, and countenanced and encouraged the work, more especially to the Marquess of Lansdowne, K.G., and to Mr. J. P. Hewett, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, in the Home Department; and to Colonel T. Cadell, V.C., late Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, who had given me all possible aid, official and private, had personally taken an interest in the work, and had shown me much kindness when difficulties occurred.

After I took charge of the Andamanese in 1879, I had the advantage of discussing many matters in connection with them, and the general administration of the Settlement of Port Blair in the early days, with Mr. J. N. Homfray, who had been in Port Blair from 1858 until his death there in 1883.

Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., and Mr. F. E. Tuson, have also assisted me regarding matters which have occurred before I came to Port Blair, and about which the records are either silent, or are altogether missing.

M. V. PORTMAN,
Officer in charge of the Andamanese.

PORT BLAIR, ANDAMAN ISLANDS;
The 28th April 1896.

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CHAPTER I.

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THE Andaman Islands lie in the Bay of Bengal, between the 10th and 14th Parallels of North Latitude, and between the 92nd and 94th Meridians of East Longitude. The Group of Islands is divided into the Great and Little Andaman, the former being subdivided into the North, Middle, and South Andaman, with the outlying Islands of Landfall, Interview, Rutland, and the North and South Sentinel; the Archipelago, and Labyrinth Groups. Including all the small Islets, however, there are 204 Islands in the Andamans.

The Great Andaman, from Cape Price, the North end of the North Andaman, to the South end of Rutland Island, is 155 miles in length, and nowhere more than 18 miles in breadth. The Little Andaman, 26½ miles by 16, lies 31 miles south of Rutland Island, the entire length of the Group being 219 miles.

The Great Andaman Islands are hilly, rising in the North Andaman to 2,400 feet, in the Middle Andaman to 1,678 feet, and in the South Andaman to 1,510 feet. Numerous creeks intersect the Islands, and there are three Straits, Homfray, Middle, and MacPherson's, which are navigable for vessels of less than twelve feet draught.

Eighteen miles to the westward of the South Andaman is the North Sentinel Island, and 36 miles south of that is the South Sentinel.

About 70 miles to the eastward of the Andamans lie the Island of Narcondam, opposite the North Andaman, and Barren Island opposite the Middle Andaman. These belong to the Andaman Group.

Geologists are of opinion that the Andamans are a continuation of the Arracan Yomah. The older rocks are probably oldest Tertiary or late Cretaceous, though their exact age cannot be told on account of the absence of fossils. These rocks appear again in precisely the same form in the Nias Islands on the west coast of Sumatra.

The newer, or Archipelago rocks, contain Radiolarians and Foraminifera, and are upper Tertiary. These rocks occur again in the Nicobars, and in the main body of the island of Sumatra.

The Sentinel islands are also of this formation, with a superstratum of coral.

There is a good deal of serpentine rock in the Islands, and jasper, chromite, and copper and iron pyrites are found, also small pockets of coal.

Rink remarks, with regard to the newer rocks :

"The extreme uniformity of the strata indicates that these masses were deposited on the bottom of a quiet sea, probably not far from the mouth of a large river. There is not a trace to be found of local causes by which fragments of foreign rocks could have been brought into these deposits. The patches of coal have been derived from drift-wood which was deposited with the clay and sand."

With regard to certain formations in the sandstone cliffs, which

may be seen at Port Campbell, on the West coast of the South Andaman, and at Redskin Island in the Labyrinth Group, he states :—

"Some spheroidal masses seen sticking out of the cliffs, or regularly arranged in lines, are remarkable. They consist of a much harder substance than the greater part of the sandstone. This imbedded and more solid sandstone is identical in composition with the main mass, differing only by the calcareous cement being present in a larger quantity. This forms in some places round masses four feet in diameter, and because they resist decomposition longer, they protrude in the most varied forms out of the cliffs, and are strewed over the shore indicating the former place of the rock.

"One might, at first sight, suppose that these imbedded masses are, on account of their rounded form, pebbles of a foreign rock, but their composition shows that they have a similar origin with the rest of the sandstone, the only difference being that the calcareous matter, which pervades the whole mass, has been concentrated at certain points. The rounded form, moreover, could not be due to rolling about, for the concentrically laminar structure clearly shows that their exterior form is connected with their internal arrangement."

Mr. R. D. Oldham states in "Notes on the Geology of the Andaman Islands" :—

"I can only distinguish with certainty two sedimentary formations in the Andaman Islands, which I propose to call the Port Blair, and Archipelago series, respectively.

"The Port Blair series consists principally of firm grey sandstone and inter-bedded slaty shales, not unfrequently containing nests of coaly matter, and, occasionally, beds of conglomerate and pale grey limestone as subsidiary members. The sandstone is the characteristic rock of the series, it is generally, if not always, non-calcareous, and is easily recognised, where exposed between tidemarks, by its peculiar mode of weathering : owing to irregular distribution of the cementing material, bosses of harder stone are left standing up above the general level of the rock, and these bosses are invariably irregularly honey-combed by the solvent action of the sea water.

"In several places I found red and green jaspery beds very similar to what occur in Manipur and Burma, but I was unable to determine whether any of these belonged to an older series or not. In part at least, they seem to belong to the same series as the sandstones and shales, in the midst of which they may be found cropping out, but it is by no means impossible that some of them belong to an older series, for, on the east coast of the South Andaman, close to the boundaries of the serpentine, south of Shoal Bay, I found great banks of conglomerate containing pebbles of similar jaspery rock; it is of course possible that this conglomerate is newer than the sandstone, but the fact that, though found close to the serpentine it contains no pebbles of that rock, indicates that it is probably of earlier date than the serpentine intrusions, and consequently probably of the same age as the Port Blair series.

"On Entry Island, and again in a small bay, not marked on the Marine chart, immediately south of Port Meadows, I found beds of volcanic origin. In the middle of the small bay just mentioned, a square rock composed of a breccia of pale green felsite, cemented by a matrix of felsitic ash, stands out of the water, and on Entry Island, among a series of rocks indurated and contorted so as to baffle description, there are some beds full of angular fragments, and apparently of volcanic origin. The age of these it is difficult to determine; they seem to pass northwards into beds among which jaspery slate and limestone are to be found, and at the northern extremity of the island there is some intrusive serpentine, but at the southern end of the island near the top of the section, if I read it aright, I found in a bed of sandstone an isolated boulder, about a foot long, of a serpentinous rock, evidently derived from the serpentine intrusion. On the whole, it is probable that these are of later date than the Port Blair sandstones.

"The newer series, which I have called the Archipelago series, as the whole of the islands of the Archipelago are formed by it, consists typically of soft limestones formed of coral and shell sand, soft calcareous sandstones and soft white clays, with occasionally a band of

conglomerate, the pebbles of which seem originally to have been coral, though no structure is now discernible. These beds seem to cover a large area in the Andamans."

With regard to the Cinque Islands, the formation of which resembles that of Rutland Island, the South-east coast of the South Andaman, and part of the East coast of the Middle Andaman, he states :—

"The Cinque Islands consist principally of intrusive rock of the serpentine series, but there are also some metamorphosed and indurated sedimentary beds; of these, some are siliceous, but for the most part they are calcareous, the most remarkable form being a green chloritic calcite or serpentinous matrix with numerous granules of crystalline calcite scattered through it; the rounded outlines of these granules seem to be due to attrition, and the crystalline structure to subsequent metamorphism. These rocks did not seem to me to belong to the Port Blair, but to the Archipelago series, and at the first blush it would seem as if they had been metamorphosed by the intrusion of the serpentine; fortunately, however, at one or two places, and more specially on the eastern face of the southern island, close to its northern end, there are exposures of a conglomeratic bed, in which the pebbles are of serpentine, and the matrix is fine-grained and very serpentinous. This conglomerate, both from its position and induration, belongs to the same series as the other sedimentary rocks of the island, and proves that they are of later date than the serpentine intrusion, and that in all probability their metamorphism is due to the contortion they have locally undergone. The conglomerate just mentioned is a curious bed, not of the type commonly known as conglomerate, but exhibits that structure, usually considered due to the action of floating ice, which is seen in the boulder bed of the Talchirs, or the Blaini conglomerate of the Himalayas. The matrix is, or rather was, originally, a fine mud or clay, and through it the pebbles are scattered, not touching each other, but each isolated in the matrix.

"As regards the intrusive rocks of the Andamans, I have little

to say; they are similar to those of Manipur and Burma to the north, and of the Nicobars to the south, and, as far as I could judge from the manner of their occurrence, of certainly later date than the Port Blair series, the only section which seems to throw any doubt on this conclusion being the sandstones on Craggy Island. I have followed my predecessors in calling these rocks serpentine, that being the most prominent or remarkable form which they take, but they not unfrequently pass into crystalline diorite or gabbro.

"In tracing the Andaman rocks northwards to Burma, we have little difficulty in identifying the Port Blair series with the Negrais rocks of Theobald. Not only do they resemble each other in the petrographical features and relative proportions of their individual members, but the peculiar mode of weathering, where exposed between tidemarks, which I have remarked in the former, is matched by the sandstones of the Negrais Group, which have been described as usually presenting, when seen on the sea beach, a 'honey-combed or cancellated appearance, the result of a peculiar mode of weathering.'

"Unfortunately, the age of the Negrais rocks cannot be determined with accuracy, but they are believed to underlie and be associated with some beds of known nummulitic age, so that we may class the Port Blair rocks as Eocene or slightly older.

"Thus, whatever line we follow, we are brought up to the same conclusion, *viz.*, that the Port Blair series is probably of early tertiary, or possibly late cretaceous age, and by tracing them southwards, we find that the rocks of the Archipelago series are probably of Miocene age or even newer.

"Since the publication of Kurz's Report on the vegetation of the Andamans, it has been an accepted fact that the Andaman Islands are, and have been, during recent times, undergoing subsidence. It was difficult to conceive how this could be the case, for the Arracan coast to the north and the Nicobar Islands to the south, between which the Andamans form the connecting link, are both fringed by raised beaches which show that they have recently been elevated, but

the observations recorded by Mr. Kurz were so unanswerable that they were allowed to override the argument from analogy. Mr. Kurz's conclusions were based principally on the fact that he found the stumps of trees, belonging to species which only grow above high-water mark and beyond the reach of salt water, in the mangrove swamps and on the sea shore, while, as corroborative evidence, he adduces the facts that, according to the Report of the Andaman Committee, the sea had encroached some 40 or 50 feet since the first settlement on Chatham Island, Port Cornwallis; and that 'Lieutenant Jameson of Chatham Island has informed me that a similar encroachment of the sea is taking place at that island in Port Blair.' As regards the latter point, there is no evidence that the 'encroachment' of the sea at Port Cornwallis was due to subsidence, and, as far as can be judged by the lithograph in the Report of the Andaman Committee, and the wood-cut in Dr. Mouat's book, both taken from a photograph, I should be inclined to look upon it as a case of encroachment by erosion of the sea shore and not by subsidence. The evidence of the trees is, however, almost conclusive, for the only explanation possible, apart from an outward set of the soil towards the sea, such as is known to take place under certain circumstances, is that the land is sinking, and I can myself produce an observation which supports this conclusion. The large bay on the north-east coast of Havelock Island is for the most part fringed with low-lying land, next to the beach this rises some 4 or 5 feet above high-water mark, but in many places behind this it sinks to form a hollow, and then rises again to the same level as the outer ridge, or rather higher. . The whole of this low land is covered with forest, but, wherever there is one of the hollows just mentioned, there the forest trees are all dead, and the soil is often moist with salt water; the soil of these low-lying patches must have once been dry, like that where the forest is still growing, and the uniformity in size of the dead and the living trees shows that in all probability several generations have lived and died on rise and in hollow alike, until, as the land gradually subsided, the sea water rose in the soil of the hollows and the trees succumbed to its fatal influence.

"We may, therefore, take it as proved that the Andamans are at the present day gradually sinking, but there is ample evidence in the raised beaches that fringe the shores of the Andamans, that in the immediate past elevation has exceeded subsidence.

"There is not wanting evidence that the depression of the Islands, which is going on at the present time, has but recently commenced, for the Kitchen-Middens of the Andamanese are in positions where a very slight subsidence would submerge them, and the time that they represent may be understood by the section of one which I examined near Port Mouat; it was twelve feet in thickness in the centre, and in this there was a bed one foot six inches thick of vegetable mould, with shells scattered through it, marking a period when generations of shrubs and plants must have lived and died while the Midden was abandoned, or only occasionally visited. This was doubtless started on a rock rising among the mangroves, and gradually extended on to the mud; and it is a noteworthy fact that the surface of the mud under the shells does not appreciably differ from the general level of the mud outside. It shows that at a time when probably not one-sixteenth of the present bulk of the Midden had accumulated, the level of the mangrove swamps was very nearly what it is now. Had the soil surrounding the rock on which the Midden was started been well clear of the influence of the tides, it would certainly not have supported a growth of mangrove, and, so far as my experience has shown me, would consequently have been of a very different character to what is actually found, while, had the surface of the mangrove swamp stood much lower than what it now is, the mud would certainly have risen above what is the base of the Kitchen-Midden in its earlier stages; in other words, the surface of the mangrove swamp was then very nearly at the highest level it could reach, and as this was limited by the height to which the tides rise, it shows that during the time represented by the formation of this Midden—a period which must be measured by centuries, if not by tens of centuries—the land has not appreciably altered its level relatively to the sea."

Additional evidence of the present subsidence of the Andaman

Islands can be obtained: at Ranguchang, on the east coast of the South Andaman, about seven miles south of Port Blair, where the land inside the sea beach, to the south of the mouth of the creek, is slowly sinking, and forest trees are dying from the advent of the sea water and giving place to mangroves; at the North end of the Little Andaman, where the foreshore is strewn with dead tree trunks with no trace of the soil in which their roots formerly stood; at the North end of the North Sentinel Island; and at the North end of the North Andaman, where it is very marked. The subsidence appears to be greater on the east coast than on the west.

It is an interesting fact that the soundings recorded a hundred years ago by Lieutenant Blair's survey of the Middle Straits, Port Cornwallis, and Port Meadows, remain the same at the present day.

A remarkable feature of the Andaman Group are the outlying Islands of Narcondam and Barren Island.

Of these Dr. Prain states :—

"These volcanic peaks are a continuation northwards of the Sunda range of volcanoes; and the Sunda range itself is but a section of the volcanic system that extends from the Andes, through the Rocky Mountains, the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, Khamschatka, Japan, the Philippines, Flores, Sumbawa, Java and Sumatra, to these very spots, and beyond them to the isolated extinct volcanoes in Burma about Pagan.

"Whenever a continental area (and such an area includes not merely part of a continent, but any adjacent islands with shallow soundings) rises out of the deep sea, you find (not on the edge, but immediately behind it, on the continental side that is) a line of volcanoes, due, doubtless, to the wrenching and dislocation of the earth's crust at the sharp bend that must accompany the shearing. Sometimes, as in America, you do not find a sea behind the ridge that marks the edge of the continental area, but oftener, as in the Kurile Sea, the Sea of Japan, and the Andaman Sea, you do find such a sea; the only thing about the Andaman one is that the ridge has not shoved itself so far up as in the case of Japan or Java, and so we find that the edge is sub-ærial, but the place behind it

where the volcanoes spout up, is submarine, and therefore only the cones of the volcanoes, and not the ridge to which they belong, has got above the surface.

"But while Narcondam and Barren Island belong to the same system as the Sumatra volcanoes, they almost certainly never were connected originally with Sumatra. The sea is too deep for any such thing to have been possible. It is a recognised truth that there is no evidence for, but every reason for deciding against the idea that any land (other than an isolated volcanic peak) has ever risen or sunk more than 200 fathoms. Very likely 100 is more of a just estimate, and even that can have been but rare."

Dr. Prain also adds, in another letter :—

"Narcondam is one of the Pegu Group of volcanoes, and Barren Island is one of the Sunda Group. These two thus give us the locality where the two groups approach most closely. They may be sub-divisions of the same Group."

Narcondam Island is a lofty peak rising 2,330 feet above the sea from out of deep water. It is 2½ miles long by 1½ mile wide, is uninhabited, and has never been visited by the Andamanese. The name is probably of Malay, and not of direct Sanskrit origin, as has been often supposed.

The supposed Sanskrit derivation, "Narak-kund," would give the meaning of the name to be "Pit of Hell," which, having been accepted, caused much confusion, owing to the difficulty of reconciling it with Narcondam which is merely an upheaved peak of volcanic origin, when it is obviously more applicable to Barren Island, a former active volcano.

Barren Island is a now quiescent volcano rising from deep water to a height of 1,150 feet above the sea. It is circular in form, with a diameter of about two miles.

It was last seen in a state of active eruption in 1803, and the crater is now choked and cold. A thin column of steam issues from a sulphur bed on the side of the cone, near the top, and a hot spring at the base gives an average temperature of 107° Fahrenheit.

When in eruption the flames could have been seen from Outram and Lawrence Islands in the Andaman Archipelago, and on a very clear day the Island is visible from the top of Mount Harriet in the South Andaman. Some have suggested that the Andamanese, who are unable to make fire, procured their fire from this volcano, but I do not consider this to be likely as they would be much afraid of the volcano, would not venture so far to sea in any case, and would certainly not approach an island they dreaded. They distinctly state that they have never in any former period visited the island, and there is no mention of it in any of their legends. So important an object as an active volcano would scarcely have been omitted had they ever visited it.

As the physical features of the Andaman Islands have a considerable bearing on the habits of the Andamanese, and the conduct of our policy towards them, I will endeavour to describe them in so far as is relevant.

Of the shores one might say, in general terms; steep-to, with deep water, on the east coast; shallow water and fringing reef on the west coast.

On either coast a heavy surf beats, according to which monsoon may be blowing, and landing would be difficult were it not for the numerous straits and creeks, and the excellent harbours.

These latter are so important a feature of the Andaman Group that I will enumerate them at some length.

They were formerly, no doubt, for ordinary vessels, the *only* attraction in these islands, for shelter in bad weather could be obtained, and supplies of wood and water could be procured. There could have been no trading with the aborigines, and there are no mineral or other valuables to be obtained.

The Andamans were undoubtedly, however, a head-quarters for Malay pirates, the many well-sheltered harbours, with big creeks running off them for miles inland, affording hiding places and shelter at all times of the year. Sharks' fins, edible birds' nests, and trepang could have been collected, if indeed there was then a trade in these articles, also tortoise-shell.

But of more importance to the Malays was the central position of the Islands, so far handier for molesting the trade of the Bay of Bengal than the Malay Peninsula; also, which has been ascertained beyond doubt, the considerable trade which was done in Andamanese slaves. Many of these were supplied to the Raja of Kedah, part of whose tribute to the King of Siam consisted of these slaves, who up to so late as 1860 are known to have been at the Siamese Court.

The Harbours in the Andaman Islands are :—

On the East coast—

NORTH ANDAMAN.—Cadell Bay; affording shelter in the south-west monsoon only.

The Table Island Group; also affording shelter in the south-west monsoon only.

Port Cornwallis; a magnificent harbour, completely sheltered in all weathers.

Stewart's Sound; a fine harbour in which complete shelter can always be obtained.

(A boat passage from here to Interview Island, called Austen Strait, exists.)

MIDDLE ANDAMAN.—There is shelter in both monsoons to be obtained inside the south end of Long Island.

Homfray Strait and Middle Strait both afford shelter for vessels of light draught, and excellent passages to the West coast with many hiding places.

(These parts are known to have been favourite lurking places of the Malays.)

SOUTH ANDAMAN.—Port Meadows; a very good, well-sheltered harbour.

Kyd Island, with the large, many-branched creek running to the southward, affords a shelter for small vessels, and a convenient mode of access to the interior of the South Andaman.

Port Blair; a well known and magnificent harbour.

MacPherson's Strait, which is both a harbour and shelter at all times of the year; and a convenient passage to the West coast.

RUTLAND ISLAND.—Portman Harbour affords a shelter in the south-west monsoon only.

On the West coast—

NORTH ANDAMAN.—Shelter can be obtained in both monsoons between Paget Island and the mainland.

The long and completely sheltered stretch of water between Interview Island and the mainland affords both harbour and hiding places.

MIDDLE ANDAMAN.—Kwangtung Harbour, at the western mouth of Middle and Homfray Straits, is well sheltered and capacious. It is most convenient as a head-quarters for traffic, etc., through these Straits.

SOUTH ANDAMAN.—Port Campbell is a good and capacious harbour, but with an intricate and dangerous entrance.

The Labyrinth Islands afford numbers of well-sheltered anchorages and hiding places.

IN THE ARCHIPELAGO ISLANDS.—On the eastern coast shelter can be obtained in *Chárka-Júru*, Kwangtung Strait, and *Tádma-Júru*.

AT THE LITTLE ANDAMAN.—With the exception of Hut Bay on the East coast, which affords a certain amount of shelter in the south-west monsoon, there are no harbours; yet it is worthy of notice that, in this island, there are more traces of Malay or other foreign influence among the aborigines, than in the others.

Few groups of islands can show, within such a small area, a similar number of really fine harbours.

The climate of the Andamans is equable, the mean average temperature being 84° Fahrenheit, and the average diurnal variation 10° Fahrenheit.

The yearly average rainfall is over 100 inches, and it rains on half the whole number of days in the year.

Nervous depression and dyspepsia, malarious, bronchial and lung complaints, and rheumatism, are the most common diseases among the Aborigines as resultants of the climate.

The Seasons are—

The South-west Monsoon, and rainy season, lasting from about the 20th of April to the 20th of October. Breaks of calm, fine weather occur during this season, and usually at the close of it a long break often of three weeks in duration occurs, when the sea is glassy calm.

After the 20th of October variable winds and heavy gales (often cyclones), usher in the North-east Monsoon, which may commence by the 10th of November.

Sometimes the months of November and December are dry with high winds, but more generally a good deal of rain accompanies the North-east wind in these months, and heavy South-east gales have been experienced in the first week of December and even later.

After the 1st of January the rain almost ceases, the force of the Monsoon declines, and until the middle of April there are light winds, fine weather, and a fairly calm sea.

The whole of the Islands are covered with an extremely dense jungle, reaching to the sea-shore, and, owing to the thick undergrowth of canes, etc., it is in places impassable even to the Aborigines. Only on the North Sentinel and Brothers Islands is the jungle at all open and free from undergrowth.

Mangrove swamps are of course common and extensive.

The trees are lofty, and often covered with gigantic climbing plants, which hang from the summits in festoons. The typical tree is Dipterocarpus lævis, and the principal trees of which use is made by the Andamanese are the Mangrove, Padouk, Melochia velutina, some of the Sterculiaceæ, Bombax insigne, Areca laxa, Pandanus, Bambusa, Anadendron paniculatum, with some others.

Fruits are gathered from many of the forest trees, and others have medicinal virtues assigned by the Andamanese to their leaves.

There are six species of edible roots, or yams, and many palms.

No coconuts exist, the reason probably being that the

Andamanese eat up the majority which are washed on the shore, and the jungle pigs account for the remainder, rooting up and eating the sprouting nuts.

Only those who know the Andamanese can appreciate how closely they scan the shore in search of food, and how little likely it is that such a prize as a coconut would escape their eyes. Moreover, when the Islands were thickly peopled, before our advent, and each tribe had to keep to its own country, not a yard of the entire coast-line but was explored weekly by parties in search of food.

Much of the scenery of the Andaman Islands is of great beauty, but this does not in the least appeal to the eye of the Aboriginal.

The sea round the Islands swarms with fish and turtle, quantities of shell-fish, including the huge Tridacna, are to be found on the reefs, and at no time could an absolute scarcity of food have been experienced.

In the interior, while there are no big game, or any dangerous beasts of prey, there are numbers of a small variety of pig, the jungle cat (Paradoxurus andamanensis), and flying foxes; fish and prawns in the fresh-water streams; the big water lizard, honey, fruits, roots, seeds, and last, but by no means least in the estimation of the Andamanese, grubs, give a full and varied dietary.

We have now to consider the Andamanese themselves.

It has been shown that, at some remote period, the Andaman Islands were joined to Cape Negrais, through the present Preparis and Coco Islands, and were thus part of the mainland of Asia.

A Negrito race then existed over an enormous extent of country, remnants being now found pure in the Andamans, and until recently in the now extinct Tasmanians; nearly pure in the Aëtas of the Philippines, which islands were probably at that time attached to the same mainland as the Andamans; and in the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula; and there are traces of Negrito blood in some of the Kolarian races of India. It is a question for consideration whether the Bushmen, the dwarf tribes in the Congo Forest, and other Negrito-African tribes, are not part of the same race, the very wide

distribution of which, in hitherto unsuspected parts, is now being recognised.

Customs similar to those of the Andamanese are to be found among the people on the islands on the west of Torres Straits, and possibly the Papuans and other Melanesian races are Negritos crossed with the Malayan or Polynesian type.

This Negrito race has been exterminated elsewhere by higher types, but before this extermination took place land communication with Arracan was cut off by subsidence and the Andamans became islands. Since this occurrence the Andamanese aborigines have remained, as we found them on our occupation of the islands in 1858, a people to themselves, cut off by the nature of the islands, and by their own hostility to all strangers, from outside influences, and preserving their persons and customs as the last pure remnant of one of the oldest races existing.

The date of the separation of the Andamans from the mainland of Burma cannot be determined, but the years since the occurrence must be reckoned by thousands, and it is probable that, during all those years, the population of the Andamans remained very much as it is at present.

At the time of our occupation in 1858, the population of the Great Andaman might be estimated roughly at 6,000 souls, and there were possibly 2,000 more people on the Little Andaman. When we consider that some Andamanese have no children, very few have more than three, the majority of the children die in infancy, and the grown-up Andamanese revenges the slightest injury to his person or property, or even a fancied insult, by a murder, and also that the tribes were continually at feud with each other, I think we may accept the above estimated population to be the average for many centuries past.

First the Kitchen-Middens of the Andamanese, and then their Legends, to which less importance can be attached, are the only data we have on which to calculate the numbers and antiquity of the race.

As regards the former. A Kitchen-Midden is, as a rule, not more than fifty feet in diameter (though there are some exceptions), and on this a Sept of not more than thirty persons would live. These Middens are found at what may be considered the head-quarters of the Tribe or Sept, but they could not be places of permanent habitation for the following reasons :—The changes of the Monsoon, the scarcity of food (all close to the spot being gradually eaten up); the nomadic disposition of the Aborigines; and above all, the stench arising from the camp, which in a few weeks becomes intolerable.

We must, therefore, allow a sufficient number of Kitchen-Middens for the necessary changes to take place, and there are not a very large number of them to be seen. The layers of soil in them show that they were occasionally abandoned for many years, and the same Midden, as we know by observation of the present habits of the Andamanese, is not re-occupied after people have left it until at least three months have elapsed (indeed, if a death had occurred in the village on it, the Andamanese would not return to it for perhaps a year); the first evidence obtained from the Middens is, therefore, that the Andamanese were never very numerous.

The next point is, that the principal Middens show signs of great age, the shells at the base of some being fossilised, and they average twelve to fifteen feet in height, nor are there many new, low Middens, from which we may argue that no great increase has taken place in the numbers of the people.

The third point which an examination of these Middens proves is, that, as the Andamanese race are now, so they were ages ago when first the Middens were commenced. Although different layers of shells in the Middens show us where the diet has slightly changed, certain oysters, for example, being at one period much in vogue and at another time entirely avoided, yet even among the fossilised shells at the base of the Middens we find the same refuse, and the same broken bits of pottery, as we find strewn on the surface to-day.

We will now consider what light the Legends of the Andamanese

throw on their origin. Comparing those of different tribes, and stripping them of their supernatural additions, we arrive at this.

All Andamanese tradition dates back to some great cataclysm which submerged a greater part of the land. The Andamanese say that before this cataclysm they were all one tribe, and spoke the same language, but that after it the survivors became separated into tribes, their languages gradually differed until at last they became mutually unintelligible as at present, and they point to certain very ancient Kitchen-Middens, now having their bases on the sea level, as having been then commenced on the spots to which the survivors repaired.

They say that before the cataclysm the places where these Middens now are were high up on mountains, and that no one would have made permanent camps there then.

It is quite possible that this tradition may be an account of what occurred when, by subsidence, the Andamans were cut off from the mainland of Arracan, and though geologists are slow to allow of sudden convulsions, yet it is certain that the subsidence, whether sudden or gradual, did actually take place. A general gradual subsidence, ending in a severe earthquake which lowered a large tract of land a few feet, and thus submerged a considerable area, might be sufficient to account for the tradition.

It is curious that, though there are no wild beasts larger than a pig at the Andamans now (excepting reptiles and marine mammals), the Andamanese state that large and fierce beasts, as well as many aborigines, were drowned in the cataclysm ; and, even in the Little Andaman the people have names for animals which they cannot describe, but evidently have traditions of.

It is also scarcely probable that, with Burma and the Malay Peninsula so full of big game, none should have strayed on to the Andamans when they were attached to the mainland.

Whatever value we may attach to these legends, however, one thing seems certain, *viz.*, that the Andamanese have inhabited these islands in their present state for a period which can only be considered

by thousands of years, and they antedate any history or record preserved among other peoples.

The following incident will show how the Andamanese are regarded by the Malays, who, as I have said, knew more of them than any other persons previous to our occupation.

When visiting Penang in 1885 with thirteen Andamanese, I was mobbed in the streets by the Malays who called to their friends to come and see the "Handumáns."

Now much scientific energy, and no little ingenuity, has been expended in endeavouring to find out the origin of the word "Andaman."

"*Andamanain*" (the word used by Marco Polo), being considered to be an Arabic (oblique) Dual signifying "The Two Andamans."

Also Ptolemy's "Insulæ Bonæ Fortunæ" Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος νῆσος" was suspected of having been converted into *Agdaman*, *Angaman*, and ultimately *Andaman*. The name is, however, not distinctly recorded before the 9th century.

*The Hon'ble W. E. Maxwell, a well-known Malay scholar, who happened to be at Penang when I was there and to whom I mentioned the matter, cut the Gordian knot at once by saying that the Malays had known, and slaved at, the Andamans from time immemorial; that they looked on the Andamanese, (who were also known as "the Rakshasas") as the Hanumáns mentioned in the Rámáyana, and had consequently called the Group, the Islands of the Hanumáns (or Handumáns as they pronounce the word), hence Andaman Islands as we know them.

The history of the Malays amply accounts for the number and variety of foreign ingredients in their language. Hindus appear to have settled in Sumatra and Java as early as the 4th century of our era, and to have continued to exercise sway over the native populations for many centuries. These received from them into their language a large number of Sanskrit terms from which we can infer the nature of the civilising influence imported by the Hindu rulers.

* The late Sir W. Maxwell, Governor of the Gold Coast.

This Sanskrit element forms such an integral part of the Malay vocabulary that, in spite of the subsequent infusion of Arabic and Persian words adopted in the usual course of Mohammedan conquest, it has retained its ancient citizenship in the language.

It is not difficult then to believe that the Andamans formed part of what was originally known as Ráma's Bridge, and the Andamanese were thought to be the Hanumáns, the scene being afterwards changed to Palk Straits, though what is now known as Adam's Bridge was a continuous isthmus, not broken up into its present form until 1480.

Indeed, according to Wilford, Hindu legends noticed the remarkable chain of islands from Cape Negrais to Achin, and ascribe it to Ráma who attempted here first to bridge the sea, an enterprise afterwards transferred to Palk Straits and Adam's Bridge.

The existence of the Andamanese, who were credited with dogs' faces and tails (which latter feature was probably derived from the bushy-tailed waistbelts they wear), will then fully account for the Hanumáns.

Narcondam may also thus be a similar Malay corruption of some Sanskrit word having a general or descriptive meaning, though not necessarily the "*Narak*" hitherto insisted on.

The Orang Laut, or Malay "Sea Gipsies" of the English writers, who have always borne a sufficiently bad reputation as pirates and general evil-doers, were probably the section of the Malay people who had most to do with the Andamans.

CHAPTER II.

The Andamanese—Their division into Tribes—The sub-division of the Tribes into Septs—Their division into Ár-*yāūto* and Érem-tága—Description of the Ár-*yāūto* and Érem-tága—Physical characteristics of the Andamanese—Diseases of the Andamanese—Intelligence of the Andamanese—Tattooing—Names—Nicknames—Flower Names—Marriage—Medicines—Motions, etc.—Habitations—Government—Language—Initiatory ceremonies—Marriage—Burial—Customs at meeting and parting—Fires—Religion, traditions, and superstitions—Attire—Time—Trade—Sport—Canoes—Cooking—Weapons, utensils, and ornaments—Amusements.

It will be convenient, for the proper appreciation of the accounts of the Andamanese by various travellers which follow, that a brief general description of the people, their mode of life, customs, and superstitions, should be here given.

The Andamanese are divided into twelve Tribes, and these Tribes are grouped into three divisions.

1st.—The North Andaman Group of Tribes, comprising :—

The Cháriár Tribe, inhabiting the coast of the northern half of the North Andaman, and the adjacent islands.

The Jéru Tribe, inhabiting the interior, and the southern half of the coast of the North Andaman, and the northern extremity of the Middle Andaman.

The Kédé Tribe, inhabiting the northern half of the Middle Andaman, and Interview Island.

The tribes composing this Group use the same bow, the "Chókio," make comparatively small arrows, have similar ornaments, the same system of tattooing, and their languages are closely allied. They inhabit the country from Landfall Island to a line drawn through the Middle Andaman, from Flat Island on the West coast, to Ámit-lá-Téd on the East coast.

2nd.—The South Andaman Group of Tribes, comprising :—

The Áka-*Béa*-da Tribe, who inhabit the coast of Rutland Island ; the coast, and part of the interior of the South Andaman, south of a line drawn from Port Mouat

to Port Blair; Termugli and the other islands of the Labyrinth Group; the coast, and most of the interior, of the remaining portion of the South Andaman; Bluff and Spike Islands; and the West coast of the Middle Andaman up to Flat Island.

The Ákar-*Bálé* Tribe, who inhabit the Archipelago Islands:

The Púchikwár Tribe, who inhabit all the country between Middle Strait and Homfray Strait, including Colebrooke, Passage, and Strait Islands; and the Northern bank of Homfray Strait for a short distance inland.

The Āūkāū-*Júwōī* Tribe, who inhabit most of the interior of the Southern half of the Middle Andaman.

The Kol Tribe, who inhabit the coast, and adjacent islands, and part of the interior, of the Middle Andaman, between Ámit-lá-Téd and Párlób.

The Tribes composing this Group use the same bow, the "Karama, make similar large arrows, have the same kind of ornaments, the same system of tattooing, and their languages are closely allied. They inhabit that portion of the Middle Andaman South of a line drawn from Flat Island on the West coast to Ámit-lá-Téd on the East coast; Báratán Island; most of the South Andaman; the adjacent Islands to, and including, Rutland Island; and the Archipelago Islands.

3rd.—The Öngé Group of Tribes, comprising:—

The Öngés, who inhabit the whole of the Little Andaman Island.

The people in the interior of Rutland Island.

The Tribe in the interior of the South Andaman.

The Tribe on the North Sentinel Island.

The Tribes composing this Group have similar ornaments and utensils; use a kind of bow differing entirely from both the "Chókio" and "Karama;" make a different pattern of canoe; do not tattoo themselves; and have allied dialects.

Some of these Tribes are also sub-divided into Septs, each Sept having a separate Headman, but all speaking the same language.

The Áka-*Béa*-da Tribe is sub-divided into seven Septs :—

1st.—The people inhabiting Rutland Island, the South and West coast of the South Andaman up to Port Mouat, and the Southern islands of the Labyrinth Group.

2nd.—The people inhabiting the Northern islands of the Labyrinth Group, and the West coast of the South Andaman from Port Mouat to Port Campbell.

3rd.—The people inhabiting the West coast from Port Campbell to Spike Island.

4th.—The people inhabiting the West coast of the Middle Andaman from Spike Island to Flat Island. (These are more closely allied to the Púchikwár Tribe.)

5th.—The people inhabiting the East coast of the South Andaman from Chiriya Tápu to Port Blair, including the Southern half of that Harbour.

6th.—The people inhabiting the Northern half of Port Blair Harbour, the interior of the Eastern side of the South Andaman, and the East coast of the South Andaman up to Lekera-Bárnga.

7th.—The people inhabiting the East coast of the South Andaman from Lekera-Bárnga to the Middle Strait.

The Ákar-*Bálé* are sub-divided into the North and South Archipelago Tribes, who speak different dialects, the division being between Havelock and Lawrence Islands.

The Púchikwár Tribe is sub-divided into :—

1st.—The people living between Middle Strait and the North end of Colebrooke Island.

2nd.—The people living on both banks of the West end of Homfray Strait.

3rd.—The people living on both banks of the East end of Homfray Strait. (These, in language and customs, much resemble the Kol Tribe.)

4th.—The people living in the interior of the Middle Andaman North of Homfray Strait.

The Àūkāū-*Júwōī* and Kol Tribes have no real sub-divisions.

The Kédé Tribe is sub-divided into three Septs : —

1st.—The people inhabiting the Eastern side of the Middle Andaman, whose language differs slightly from that of the other Septs

2nd.—The people living on the West and North-west of the Middle Andaman.

3rd.—The people on Interview and North Reef Islands.

The Jéru Tribe is sub-divided into five Septs :—

1st.—The people on the South side of Stewart's Sound.

2nd.—The people on the North side of Stewart's Sound.

3rd.—The people on the East coast of the North Andaman.

4th.—The people in the interior of the Southern part of the North Andaman.

5th.—The people on the West coast of the North Andaman.

The Cháriár Tribe is sub-divided into four Septs—

1st —The people in and around Port Cornwallis.

2nd.—The people in and around Cadell Bay.

3rd.—The people on Landfall and the adjacent islands.

4th.—The people on the North-west coast of the North Andaman.

The sub-divisions of the Öngé Tribe on the Little Andaman are not thoroughly known as yet, but appear to be—

1st.—The people on the North coast, from Bumila Creek to Kuāī-Échékwada.

2nd.—The people on the North-east coast, from Kuāī-Échékwada to Titāijé.

3rd.—The people on the East coast, from Titāijé to Tōinyugédá.

4th.—The people in Dāōgulé Bay.

5th.—The people in Hut Bay, and down to Tōibalöwé.

6th.—The people on the South coast.

7th.—The people on the South-west coast, up to Ápi Island.

8th.—The people from Ápi Island to Náchugé.

9th.—The people from Jackson Creek to Tókyui.

10th.—The Pálalánkwé people.

There may be other Septs in the interior of whom we know nothing at present. The customs of the people on the Little Andaman differ considerably from those of the people on the Great Andaman, and the huts on the former Island are large and permanent head-quarter stations, so that each of these may be considered the head-quarters of a Sept.

The North Sentinel Island people are one Tribe without sub-divisions, but we know little of them, and they appear to be a recent offshoot from the Öngés.

The Jàrawa tribe on Rutland Island are one Tribe, and, so far as we know, have no sub-divisions.

The Jàrawa tribe in the interior of the South Andaman are one Tribe, but appear to have at least three sub-divisions, of the details of which we are ignorant.

The Andamanese are also divided, irrespective of Tribal divisions, into the "Ár-*yāūto*" or "Coast-dwellers," and the "Érem-tága" or "Jungle-dwellers."

(These names of course vary in the different languages, but the meaning in all is the same, and the above words of the Áka-*Béa*-da language will be used, for convenience sake, when referring to all the tribes.)

Many tribes contain members of both these divisions.

In the South Andaman Group of Tribes, those Áka-*Béa*-da living between Port Blair Harbour and Middle Strait, in the interior of the South Andaman, are Érem-tága. The remainder of the Tribe are Ár-*yāūto*.

All the Ákar-*Bálé* are Ár-*yāūto*.

Those Púchikwár living in the interior of the Middle Andaman, North of Homfray Strait, are Érem-tága. The remainder are Ár-*yāūto*.

Almost all the Āūkāū-*Jūwōī* are Érem-tága.

All the Kol are Ár-*yāūto*.

The Kédé Tribe is composed of both Ár-*yāūto* and Érem-tága, according as they dwell on the coast or inland, the only Érem-

tága, however, being the people in the interior of the Northern half of the Middle Andaman.

The Jéru Tribe is composed of both Ár-*yāūto* and Erem-tága, but principally of the latter, the only Ár-*yāūto* being those people living in Stewart's Sound and on the West coast of the Southern part of the North Andaman.

The Cháriár Tribe is composed of Ár-*yāūto* only.

The Öngés no doubt have similar divisions, but at present we are only acquainted with what we may call the Ár-*yāūto*.

The North Sentinel Tribe are Érem-tága by nature, and Ár-*yāūto* by force of circumstances; (indeed, comparing all the Tribes of the Öngé Group with the real Ár-*yāūto* of the Great Andaman, this may be said of all of them.)

The Jàrawa Tribes on Rutland Island, and in the interior of the South Andaman, are Érem-tága.

The principal differences between Ár-*yāūto* and Érem-tága, are—

The former residing chiefly on the coast, and obtaining their food principally from the sea, are more expert at swimming and diving, fish shooting, etc., have a better knowledge of fishes and marine life, and are hardier and braver than the Érem-tága.

These latter are more expert at tracking, or finding their way through the jungle, at pig hunting, etc., have a better knowledge of the Fauna and Flora of the Andamans, but are timid and more cunning.

They are unable to harpoon turtle and dugong, and thus, while the Ár-*yāūto* can do all that the Érem-tága can do, though often not so well, in addition to his own peculiar accomplishments, the Érem-tága is ignorant of much which the Ár-*yāūto* knows. The two divisions are allowed to inter-marry.

Fights take place between sub-divisions of the same Tribe, and between Ár-*yāūto* and Érem-tága, who do not mix much.

The Andamanese are on friendly relations with each other as follows:—

Most friendly within their families.

Friendly within their Septs.

Fairly friendly within their Tribes.

On terms of courtesy with the members of other Tribes of the same Group, *if known.*

Hostile to the Tribes within their own Group whom they do not know, and to all other Andamanese, and to all strangers.

An Andamanese belongs to a Tribe, and is also Ár-*yâûto* or Érem-tága, by descent. A child of one Tribe may become a member of another by adoption, and occasionally the child of an Érem-tága may be brought up an Ár-*yāūto*, but an Ár-*yāūto* never becomes an Érem-tága, the former despising the latter.

The average height of an Andamanese man is 4 feet, 10½ inches.

The average height of an Andamanese woman is 4 feet, 6 inches.

The average bodily temperature of an Andamanese man is 99° Fahrenheit.

The average bodily temperature of an Andamanese woman is 99°·5′ Fahrenheit.

The average number of pulse beats per minute of an Andamanese man is 82.

The average number of pulse beats per minute of an Andamanese woman is 93.

The average number of respirations per minute of a man is 19.

The average number of respirations per minute of a woman is 16.

The breathing is, in most cases, abdominal or upper abdominal.

The women show scarcely any indication of their breathing, though the men show it well.

The average weight of an Andamanese man is 96 lbs., 10 oz.

The average weight of a woman is 87 lbs.

It will be seen from the above that the bodily temperature of the Andamanese, though very near that of the Aryan family, has a slight tendency to rise above the normal of that family, and it is uncertain what is the reason for this higher reading.

Apparently, there is no marked fever or other disease present, as there are absolutely no signs or symptoms of an abnormal condition,

nor do the Andamanese themselves recognise any difference in this respect. As their food is largely carbonaceous, their diet may be the cause, or possibly from always living in a malarious country there may be a slight masked fever extending over some weeks in duration to which the Andamanese are so accustomed that they fail to notice it. There is no doubt that they frequently suffer from a degree or two of masked fever much as street boys in England appear to have a slight running cold, and this has so little influence on their actions and general appearance that they state they are perfectly well when their temperature is over 100° Fahrenheit. This feverishness is generally traceable to chills, and there is little or no splenic disease.

They dislike and fear cold very much, and do not bear it well sensitively, but when taken to an Indian climate which was much colder than their own, though inconvenienced they were not injured in any way, and indeed improved in general health.

They bear the heat of the sun well, but complain sometimes, get bad headaches, sun fever, etc. They go stark naked, and with no covering on their heads, at midday, on sea or land, in the hottest weather, not however from choice during the middle of the day, as they do not court the exposure unnecessarily. Sometimes they hold a leaf umbrella over their heads if out in a canoe in a very hot sun. The fact, however, of their knowing that they had to undergo this exposure would not deter them from any journey, etc., while the fear of a similar exposure to cold would certainly deter them.

They do not bear thirst at all well, and hunger almost equally badly.

They are accustomed to gratify both the moment they feel the sensation, and not being used to privations cannot endure them.

They, for similar reasons, cannot ordinarily endure for more than twenty-four hours without sleep, though they have been known on the occasions of big dances to go for four days and nights almost entirely without sleep, becoming much exhausted afterwards.

The voices of the Andamanese, though in a few marked cases deep and hoarse, are ordinarily of a pleasant medium quality and rather musical. Their breath is ordinarily sweet, and there is no smell from

the healthy bodies of the younger Andamanese. Any offensive smell there might be, would come from the dirt on them, not from the secretions of the body. People with decayed teeth and tissues have foul smelling breaths and bodies, and the scorbutic taint may account for much of this as there is a good deal of a mild form of scurvy among them, probably due to the absence at certain times of the year of vegetable food, or to chills.

They are by nature "far-sighted," and any apparent "near-sightedness" is due to leucoma or other disease dimming the sight and causing them to study the article looked at much closer, for distinctness' sake, than is usual.

In appearance, when not smeared over with red and white pigments, the Andamanese men, and the young women, are not unpleasing, some indeed are distinctly good-looking and have fine, well-shaped noses, thin lips, small mouths, even white teeth, bright sparkling eyes, and very well shaped figures. The old people often become hideous.

With the Andamanese sexual desire generally commences at about 15 years of age in the men, and as their love for sport is greater than their passions, these are not gratified to any great extent until after marriage, which rarely takes place before the man is 26. Probably, for this reason, the Andamanese men keep a boyish appearance until they are about 30, and age very little till after 40.

From 24 to 38 an Andamanese man scarcely alters in appearance, though their figures, the sheen of their skin, and the delicacy of their features, are best seen at the former age, for as they grow older the skin becomes more coarse, and the figure "wall-sided;" the eyes too, which are very clear in youth, become dulled in after life. The teeth also become worn and discoloured with age, though little caries is seen. The teeth of the Öngés, however, are uneven, and discoloured, and some suppose that this tribe have hereditary syphilis from some distant period, though possibly scurvy, or the water they drink, may have something to do with it. Elephantiasis only occurs on the Little Andaman. The Andamanese vary in colour from an intense charcoal black all over, which is most common in the South Andaman

Group of Tribes, to black with reddish-brown on the collar bones, cheek bones, and other points of the body, and, among the Öngés, to even a light reddish-brown on parts of the face.

The black pigment occasionally leaves their fingers and lips, giving these a peculiar piebald appearance, and this lasts till death, the pigment never returning. The cause is unknown, there is no remedy for it, and no notice is taken of it by the Andamanese.

The colour of their hair varies from sooty black to dark brown, old gold, red, and light brown, especially as it increases in length. Though these, however, may be the colours of individual hairs, the general appearance is sooty black, or yellowish-brown.

The different Tribes vary in their mode of wearing their hair; some, chiefly in the South Andaman Group, shaving the head clean; many of the people throughout the Great Andaman let their hair grow in long matted ringlets till it touches their shoulders; the Jàrawas often grow a mop of hair like a Papuan, and the Öngés keep their hair cut very short.

Excessive hairiness of the body never occurs. Total absence of hair is equally unknown, but in all cases the hair, except on the head, is very scanty. Some men have a tiny beard and moustache, of which they are very proud, and the fact of such men being spoken of as "hairy" shows how rare the Andamanese consider this adornment to be.

There is a little hair on the pubes, and this, like the beard and moustache, is not shaved. The eyebrows, which are small, are often shaved off, for no particular reason except that they are not considered to be ornamental. There is a little hair under the axilla, and sometimes a trace on the arms and legs.

The oily secretion is abundant, and the skin is smooth and satiny where not tattooed.

The colour of the skin is usually the colour of black lead in the parts exposed to the air, and reddish or yellowish-brown under the axilla. The lips and the nostrils are black, and the soles of the feet brownish-yellow. In a few cases the skin on the cheek bones, and other prominent points of the face and body, is reddish-brown. A

patch of black skin kept free from the light for years, as in the case of the skin of the head covered with a thick mat of hair, does not become lighter in colour.

The eyes are, as a rule, dark brown in colour, liquid and clear, or sometimes very dark brown, dull, and with a ring of black round the iris. They are prominent, and have the outer angles very slightly elevated.

The mouth is large, the hard palate very arched, and pigmented in patches.

There are very few cases of natural deformities, and the only artificial deformity is the mark across the skull caused by the strap used in carrying loads. This is most marked in the women, who carry big bundles of firewood, etc., and, as they commence to do this at about the age of six, it causes not only a mark on the skin and flesh, but also an actual depression in the skull. This is most marked among the Öngés. No parts of the body are pierced, injured, or deformed intentionally for the wearing of ornaments or for any other purpose.

Monorchids are found, and also cases of atrophied testicles.

The duration of life among the Andamanese is about sixty years, and cases of people attaining to about sixty-five are known.

Congenital idiocy is rare, and little notice is taken of it. The only form of insanity known is homicidal mania, which is also rare. The subjects commence by eating raw flesh, earth, and such unnatural things. After they commit a murder they eat the raw fat and drink the blood of the victim. These men are much dreaded for a time by the others, but end by being killed in revenge for some murder they have committed.

Epidemics and endemics are absent from the Andaman Islands, unless malarial fevers be classed as the latter. The greatest number of cases of these fevers occur about June, at the commencement of the South-west Monsoon, and also during the heavy bursts of rain in this Monsoon, the causes being the reduction of temperature, and the humid atmosphere. The drying up of the soil at the end of the Rains is also considered to be unhealthy.

The diseases of the Andamanese and of the immigrant races are the same. The most prevalent diseases are :—

Malarial fevers, of which the Intermittent form, being 91 per cent. of the whole, is the most common. In this group, 34 cases per 1,000 are fatal, the deaths being due to the Remittent form.

The proportion of chest diseases, though not so large as that of Malarial fevers, is considerable, being to the latter as 9 is to 7. The cases are, however, more fatal. During certain years, when the wind is exceptionally high and the rainfall less than usual, these diseases are particularly deadly, death being generally due to Pneumonia, always a most fatal disease to the Andamanese, the virulent epidemic form of which has probably been introduced since 1858. Chronic Bronchitis is responsible for the high sick-rate of this group (60 per cent.), but deaths from it are not common.

The fatal cases of this group are 103 per 1,000, of which Pneumonia is 90 per cent. of the whole.

Pleurisy, Hæmoptysis, and Phthisis are comparatively rare, but there is a general tendency to Bronchial Catarrh.

Abdominal diseases are not common, there being a very small percentage of them, but are very fatal. Diarrhœa is the most common and causes the most deaths, there being 112 per 1,000.

When in health their stools are regular, inclining to looseness, similar to those of animals in good health. They have abundant perspiration which is only unpleasant smelling in certain individual cases.

There is a great deal of Dyspepsia, and Colic is common.

No Typhoid or Typhus fevers are known, though the Andamanese will drink water of the filthiest appearance.

Diseases of the brain and spinal cord are rare, though occasional cases of curvature of the spine are met with.

Sunstroke is known to, and dreaded by the Andamanese, as cases of it are always fatal.

Rheumatic affections are common among the older Andamanese often causing complete loss of use, and the withering away of a limb. It is of the muscular variety.

Conjunctivitis is rather common, as is also Leucoma.

Ulcers, generally the result of wounds, are common, and are very slow to heal.

There is a great deal of exfoliated Dermatitis, either scorbutic or due to exposure, sometimes resulting in the destruction of the finger and toe nails.

Ringworm is the only other skin disease known.

There is no limited baldness, but temporary general baldness from disease is known. In these cases the hair is always weak afterwards. The Andamanese readily succumb to a severe injury or disease, but, though they seem to have little vital power, they pick up wonderfully quickly after illness.

They have a tendency to Prognathism, which, however, is only strongly marked in a few instances, and in many cases absolute Orthognathism is met with.

The intellect of the Andamanese youth, and his capacity for grasping matters entirely foreign to his natural state, is considerable, and I have noticed that this special intelligence (as distinct from hunting ability, etc., which is of the savage order) is usually accompanied by refined features (especially the nose and mouth), also by an irritable temper, indicative of the nervous temperament.

This intelligence, and the tractability and usefulness of the Andamanese men, becomes less (as regards subjects foreign to their original savage life only) after they pass forty years of age. They then become more savage and quarrelsome in disposition.

They are gentle and pleasant to each other, and kind to children, but, having no legal or other restraint on their passions, are easily roused to anger, when they commit murder. They are certainly cruel, and are jealous, treacherous, and vindictive; they have short memories for either good or evil, are quick tempered, and have little or no idea of gratitude. They are affectionate to their wives, and their worst qualities are kept for strangers. I have often likened them to English country schoolboys of the labouring classes, with the passions of the mature savage.

They are bright and merry companions, sticking to nothing for long, always busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen, and very

independent. Their actions are governed by ideas of prowess in the chase, etc., and not being naturally of a very lustful nature, sexual passion does not enter largely into their lives. They are proud of having children and anxious to get them, but their passions are purely *animal*, and never *bestial* as is the case with more highly civilised races.

The intelligence of the women, although not generally equal to that of the men, is fair. The old women among the Andamanese are often very capable and much respected; they live on an average to a greater age than the men, and, when aged, keep excellent health and the full use of their faculties. They do not become peevish and querulous in old age, but retain the bright and merry nature of their youth.

They are considered to be beings subordinate to the men, and the wives are practically slaves to their husbands for whom they have to perform all the drudgery. They acquiesce in this, and keep together in parties of their own sex; the fact of their inferiority, however, being once recognised, they have a good deal of influence and are under no restrictions.

Allowing for the acuteness gained by practice and necessity, the sight of the Andamanese does not appear to be superior to that of an ordinary European, who, if he passed through the same training, would see as well as they do. I have heard astonishment expressed at the way in which they will accurately name another Andamanese who may be at a considerable distance, but it should be remembered that they distinguish by gait, etc., as we do, and moreover they know whom they expect to see in a particular place, and are therefore on the look-out. I have seen them, when not thus prepared, make many mistakes, while a European standing by them gave accurately the names of the persons seen.

They do not care for our scents, or for the smell of flowers, nor do they decorate themselves with them, like the South Sea Islanders. They do not distinguish individuals in the dark by smell, and their sense of smell does not appear to be particularly keen. Fires can be smelt at

a distance of two miles certainly, but much depends on the direction and force of the wind, the nature of the wood fuel (some being highly and objectionably odoriferous), also whether turtle fat or other strong smelling things are burning. They can smell a fire farther than a European can because they are on the look-out for such things (as they can hear the sound of a dance at some distant encampment) and consequently their senses in those particular matters are more highly trained and developed than ours, but I do not think that naturally their senses are any keener than those of any other race.

The last point to be noticed in the personal description of the Andamanese is their modes of tattooing, or rather scarifying themselves.

The Tribes of the South Andaman Group cut their bodies with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zig-zags or straight lines running up and down the body or limb. Each cut is about a quarter of an inch in length, and is merely superficial. To make a pattern of straight lines, a line of cuts is made, the incisions being end to end and about an eighth of an inch apart. Another line parallel to these, and about an eighth of an inch distant, is then cut, and twelve or fourteen of such lines would make the pattern. In the zig-zag pattern only two lines are made, the cuts being incised at obtuse angles to each other, and thus forming something like our "dog-tooth" pattern. The making of the patterns depends upon the individual taste of the woman cutting them, but the face and ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are not cut. The first cutting is made from the navel to the pubes, and the "dog-tooth" patterns are often cut on either side of a line drawn from the sternal notch to the navel, thus rounding off the remainder of the tattooing, and imitating as it were the edges of an open waistcoat. Women are tattooed in the same way as men.

The North Andaman Group of Tribes have a different system of tattooing. The cuts with them are made by the men with the head of a pig-arrow, and are severe and deep. They are made across the body or limb, and are not placed end to end but parallel to each other.

They are about an inch in length and half an inch apart, and as a rule three lines of cuts are made, one in the centre of the back from the nape of the neck to the buttocks, and one on either side of this from each shoulder to half way down the buttocks. These lines are about three inches apart. Occasionally four or five lines of smaller cuts may be seen.

Three or four (sometimes five) similar lines of smaller cuts, about two inches apart, are made from the collar bones to the pubes. Other smaller lines of cuts are made down, and sometimes circling round, the arms and legs, the cuts being on a slope like the series of slats of a half-open venetian blind.

The women of this Group are, as a rule, only tattooed when they become elderly.

The Öngé Group of Tribes do not tattoo themselves.

The Andamanese, like the rest of the human race, have names for individuals, regarding which names there are certain peculiarities worthy of notice.

There are three classes of Names:

I.—The Name the Andamanese is given in the womb, and which is their Name throughout life. (Of this class there are about twenty Names in each Tribe.)

This Name is given in the following manner. When a woman knows that she is with child she calls that child by some one of the usual Andamanese Names regardless of what its future sex may be. This is called the *Teng*-l'ár-*Ula*, or "Proper Name." When the child is born, "Óta" (which means Testicles) is added for a male child, and "Káta" (female organ of generation) for a female. These two words are only used during babyhood as a rule.

In the case of twins, which, however, is almost unknown, an additional Name would be given after birth to the second child.

In the case of a first born child named, say, "Biala," dying soon after birth, the mother on her second conception often gives the same Name to the second child, and to this, if of the same sex as the previous one, the Nickname (always used after the real Name) of "Il"

"Twice-born" would be added, as they believe that the dead child has been born again.

II. *Nicknames.*—These are given to children on account of some peculiarity, either in their own make or conduct, or in those of their parents; and additional Nicknames are sometimes given as the children grow up. Only one Nickname is used at a time. They may be sarcastic, alluding to a deformity, or to a disfigurement or eccentricity; they may also be flattering, or even reverential.

III. *Flower Names.*—These are given to Andamanese women only, and their origin is as follows:—

At her first menstruation an Andamanese girl is called by the Name of whichever one of certain selected trees happens to be in flower at the time, and this Name, which is used before the *Teng*-l'ár-*Ula*, is not discarded until she becomes a mother, or elderly.

Often, in calling to a young woman, the Flower Name alone is used. The following table will show the Flower Names, the principal trees from which these Names are taken, and their approximate times of flowering. (The Names are given for convenience sake in the Áka-*Béa*-da language only.)

Flower Name.	*Name of tree.*	*Time of flowering.*
Chílip	Diospyros Densiflora	November. December. January. February.
Móda	Semecarpus. Odina Wodier.	March.
Āūra	Chickrassia Tabularis	March.
Jídga	Not identified. Also, Croton Argyratus	April.
Yéri	Sterculia	April.
Pátaka	Meliosma Simplicifolia. Terminalia Procera	May.
Réché	Eugenia. sp. Rubiaceæ	June and July.
Chágara	Pterocarpus Dalbergioides	August.

Flower Name.	*Name of tree.*	*Time of flowering.*
Chárapa	Not identified	September.
Chénra	Leea Sambucina	October.
Yúlu	Not identified Also Eugenia	November.

The Andamanese can give no reason but that of long custom for the selection of these particular Names, and they are also ignorant of the reason why only the above trees were selected; and though it is very evident that the giving of Flower Names arose from the comparison between the reproduction of human beings and of plants, the Andamanese do not now recognise this.

They have also certain Honorifics. Elderly male Andamanese are called Māia as a term of respect, also Mám. Married Andamanese women are called Chána.

The Names are used in calling to each other from distances principally, also in speaking of each other. It is *de rigueur* to use the Honorifics, and a young girl is spoken to by her Flower Name. Children do not address their parents by their Names, and youths would never use Nicknames in speaking to their elders, and not often the Proper Name. The Name is in fact more of a trade mark than for general use. As there are so few of them, the Nickname decides which of the many people of that Name is meant, and the Honorific gives the age and standing of the person and how to address him. A youth would be called by his Name, but more often would be addressed as "youngster." The actual words for Names, etc., differ of course in the different languages, but the system is the same throughout all the Tribes of the Great Andaman.

I cannot speak with certainty regarding the Öngé Group of Tribes.

There is no reason to suppose that the Andamanese have ever inter-married with any other race, and their intense hostility to all strangers is against the idea. Rumours have been heard at different times of long-haired tribes on different parts of the Islands, but, as I have had occasion to point out elsewhere, long-haired does not necessarily mean straight-haired, and the tribes who keep their hair

cut short would doubtless remark on those who allowed it to grow long enough to touch the shoulders. The rumours may, however, have possibly arisen from the advent of ship-wrecked crews, the Malay pirates, or be a tradition handed down from the establishment of our Settlements in Port Blair and Port Cornwallis in 179—, but in no case from cross-breeding with foreigners.

The Andamanese are monogamic, and though there is a freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage, after it the husband keeps faithful to his wife, as a rule, and she to him. Her murder would be the result of any unfaithfulness on the wife's part, and possibly the murder of her lover also. Divorce is rare, and unknown after a child has been born to the married couple. Incestuous marriages never take place, and a man prefers to marry into another Sept, or Tribe of the same Group.

As, in another work, I propose to answer in full "Notes and Queries on Anthropology," and give in great detail all we now know regarding the customs, etc., of the Andamanese, I will here only briefly outline them.

Medicine.—Red ochre taken externally and internally they have great faith in; bleeding on the forehead for fever and headache, and round the affected part in abscesses, is practised; wreaths of human bones are tied round a painful part; and they have some slight idea of dieting themselves. Certain leaves are tied on the affected parts in diseases, and beds are made of them in order that their odour may be inhaled.

Motions, etc.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, being able, when necessary, to travel considerable distances at a time. Their step is free and independent. The Jàrawa tribe walk with their toes much turned in.

The Ár-*yāūto* are excellent swimmers and perfectly at home in the water; the Érem-tága, though not so good in the water, excel in tracking through the jungle, though they cannot do such feats of tracking as the Australian aborigines accomplish.

Magic, etc.—They have much faith in dreams, and in the utterances of certain "wise men," who, they think, are able to foretell the

future, and know what are the intentions of the Deity, and what is passing at a distance. Like all such "priesthoods" this superstition is used by the "wise men" to enhance their power and comforts, and to obtain articles they wish for from others without any real compensation.

Numbers, etc.—They cannot count with certainty beyond two, and only very vaguely up to five, this meaning a considerable number.

Habitations, Nomadism, etc.—Being a nomadic and extremely uncleanly race, they do not, except on the Little Andaman, build large or permanent huts. A village is usually a group of about 14 huts arranged in the form of an oval, the centre of which is kept clean for the dancing ground, the huts facing inwards.

A hut is merely a patch of thatch placed on four uprights and some cross pieces, about 4 feet 6 inches high in front, and 8 inches high at the back. There is no walling at the sides, and each hut is about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, which is sufficient for one family. It should be remembered that these huts are in the jungle, which is so dense that, however violent a storm may be going on overhead, very little wind penetrates to the earth, and the rain drips straight down from the trees above.

At one end of the oval would be a larger hut for the single men, and at the opposite end a similar hut for the unmarried women.

In unsheltered spaces, and at the head-quarters of the Septs, larger circular huts are built, sometimes ten feet in height and thirty feet in breadth, the eaves of which reach nearly to the ground. This class of hut is to be seen at its best on the Little Andaman, and I have seen one at Tōi Bálöwé about 30 feet in height and 60 feet in breadth.

When out hunting and away from their villages a mere break-wind of leaves is considered sufficient. In each hut one or more fires are kept, and just outside the hut is a tiny platform, about 18 inches high, on which surplus food is stored.

Government.—Every man is a law unto himself in general, but the elders of the tribe have a certain authority, and one man is chosen,

either from temper, combined with prowess in hunting or fighting, or else from superior intelligence, as Head of the Sept. He grows to this position gradually, and there is no election or formality. The Andamanese are not fond of obeying other persons, and only band together and obey one Elder when it is manifestly to their interests to do so.

Age commands respect, and young people are deferential to their elders. In the case of crimes the aggrieved party takes the law into his own hands, and either destroys the property of, or wounds, or murders, the offender. Murder, theft, adultery, destruction of property, and assault, are the principal crimes they recognise. They have none of what may be called "the vices of civilisation," and are not, and never were, cannibals. The reasons for their having been thought so, are —

1st.—That they used to attack and murder every stranger who came to their shores.

2nd.—That it is the custom among certain tribes, although they yield honourable interment to their own dead, to burn the body of a stranger or enemy.

The food supply is far too good and varied for cannibalism ever to have arisen from hunger.

Language.—They have no written language or means of communication by signs, and each Tribe has a dialect of its own, these dialects being almost mutually unintelligible, except where fusion of the dialects has occurred on conterminous borders. The dialects have most of the roots of the words in common, but with different intonations, prefixes, suffixes, etc. The languages are agglutinative in form, and the functions of gender, declension, and conjugation of Aryan languages are discharged by prefixes and suffixes, while the root is not inflected. Major Temple writes of them that "they are one group, and are connected with no other group."

The languages are copious in having many words to express variations of the same thing, but in some points, where distinctive words might be expected, only one generic term is used, the meaning being gathered from the context. The Andamanese speak about what

interests and affects themselves, and have no words for abstract ideas, which they know nothing of.

Initiatory ceremonies.—Youths, as they attain to about 12 to 16 years of age, abstain from certain foods, and after some years of this abstention the food is eaten again amid certain simple ceremonies and dances. It is probable that puberty was originally the cause of these, and the wish on the part of the aspirant to show that he was capable of maintaining a family. Some five or six different foods are abstained from in turn, and at the end of the last of these fasts the initiate would be considered to be a man. Certain Honorifics belong to persons undergoing these ceremonies, but no secrets are communicated, nor is there anything religious about them. A curious custom is that, when two men undergo the ceremony together, it forms a great bond of friendship between them, and they would never afterwards call each other by name, or abuse each other, or fight: indeed, there seems to be a mutual shyness and avoidance.

Women have similar customs to the men.

Marriage.—The simple ceremony which constitutes marriage among the Andamanese, and has nothing religious about it, is considered strictly binding by this people.

When the elders of the Sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to be married, the bride is taken to a newly made empty hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but, after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit down on the bride's lap. This is the whole of the ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to, and are very shy of, each other, for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together.

Divorce is very uncommon, but after the death of one party, or a divorce, the Andamanese marry again. The average number of children born from one mother is three, but instances of seven and eight are known. Only one case of twins has been heard of, and both children died shortly after birth.

Burial.—Babies are buried under the floor of their parents'

hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, which is more honourable, are tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform up in a tree. Plumes of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously in the neighbourhood to mark the vicinity of a corpse, and that part of the country is deserted for about three months. At the end of this period the relations and friends of the deceased, who have been in mourning, covered with grey clay, and have refrained from dancing; disinter, or take down as the case may be, the bones of the deceased, wash them, break them up into suitable pieces, and make them into ornaments to which great importance is attached, as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part.

A dance then takes place, when the mourning is said to be "taken off," and the mass of grey clay on the head is actually removed.

Meeting, Parting, etc.—The Andamanese on the Great Andaman have the extraordinary custom of weeping loudly and demonstratively when they meet after a long separation, and this may last for some hours. The Öngés sit on each other's laps, caress each other with their hands, and shed a few silent tears only.

At parting the Great Andaman Tribes blow on each other's hands and exchange sentences corresponding in intention to our "good-bye," etc. It is not etiquette to show much emotion at other times, and they have no words for ordinary salutations or returning thanks.

Fires.—Those eminent anthropologists who study savages from their firesides in England, and criticise and contemn the work of observers on the spot from their own lofty standpoint of ignorance (possibly because the results of those observers' work do not agree with their pre-conceived theories), are persuaded that the Andamanese *must* know how to make a fire, or *must* have some word in their language showing that they formerly knew how to make fires. The fact however remains that the Andamanese do not know, and, judging from their language, never have known, how to *make* fire. They are very careful of their fires, always carrying smouldering logs with them when they travel either by sea or land, and so sheltering the stock log that even in the most inclement weather the fire does not become extinct. Should such a mishap however befall a village, the people would go to

the next encampment and obtain fire from there. According to a Prometheus-resembling legend of theirs, fire was stolen from Heaven in the first instance and has never been allowed to become extinct since.

Religion, Traditions, and Superstitions.—The Andamanese believe in one God who resides in heaven above, was the cause of the existence of every body and every thing, directly or indirectly, and is somewhat an anthropomorphic conception, having passions, likes and dislikes, etc. He punishes, causes storms, and in fact corresponds in many ways with the European child's idea of a Deity. He is not propitiated in any manner (except that the Andamanese refrain from doing acts which they know displease him, for they dread the consequences of his wrath), and there is no idea of sacrifice, prayer, or worship. There is no love for this Deity, and the acts displeasing to Him are connected with the products of the jungle, etc., and do not affect the relations of the Andamanese towards each other.

In addition to Him, there are, as might be expected, "the spirit of the woods," and "the spirit of the sea," who are wholly evil, also other minor evil spirits. These are said to cause diseases.

There is a variety and abundance of legends and mythological stories differing among the different tribes, but the Andamanese superstitions amount to a dread of the above-mentioned spirits, and an avoidance of the acts which tradition says are displeasing to them.

The Andamanese are, however, of too happy and careless a nature to be very much biassed or affected by their superstitions. Food, sport, and amusement (with an ever watchful eye on his neighbour, and a quick temper of his own) are the factors of Andamanese life; there is no care for the morrow.

They believe that after death their souls go into a place under the earth, a sort of Elysian Fields, but have no idea of a Heaven, or of any place of eternal reward or punishment, nor do they expect a resurrection of the body, and a life of the world to come, though some observers, who have not compared the legends of all the tribes, will have it that they do.

The anthropological professors above-mentioned are very anxious to prove that the Andamanese *must* have derived their word for, and their idea of, a Deity, from some of the more civilised nations with whom they may have been brought into contact.

Casual statements by incompetent or superficial observers may have led to this idea, but I cannot agree with it. Considering the great antiquity of the race and their seclusion from other people, I do not see why their present ideas could not have been handed down to them from the earliest times, before the more civilised races referred to were in existence. The very slight contact they have had with outside influences has been hostile, and to convey abstract ideas of a religion and a Deity it would have been necessary for one party to have learnt the language of the other. We have evidence in the present time to show that Andamanese who have been educated in civilisation for years, and appeared to have lost their savage ways, have gone back to their tribe, entirely lost their veneer of civilisation, and have not only not introduced a single abstract idea among their tribesmen, but have not even altered their habits in practical matters affecting their comfort, health, etc. The Andamanese are a very conservative race, act solely on the ideas transmitted to them from their ancestors, and will not alter these in any way.

Attire.—The Andamanese men, but for certain waistbelts, necklaces, etc., which may be considered ornamental, go entirely naked. The women of the South Andaman Group of Tribes wear a bunch of five or six leaves over their private parts. The women of the North Andaman Group of Tribes wear a sort of loose tassel of narrow strips of bark; and the women of the Öngé Group of Tribes wear a bunchy tassel of fibre.

The Tribes of the Great Andaman cover themselves over with clay pigments of which there are three principal kinds—

1st.—Plain grey clay, mixed with water, which is smeared on them in coarse patterns.

2nd.—White clay, which is delicately touched on in fine patterns resembling those of the South Andaman tattooing.

3rd.—Red ochre mixed with turtle, pig, or almond oil, which is smeared over the body coarsely.

The Öngé Group of Tribes use a yellowish clay mixed with water to smear very coarsely over their bodies, and put the oily red pigment on their hair only.

The Andamanese recognise divisions of the day by the position of the sun, and have rough divisions for the night. The year is divided into three main seasons, and several smaller divisions known by the flowering of certain trees. The phenomena of the tides they are acquainted with and note carefully.

A rude sort of barter exists amongst them, and articles are exchanged among Tribes of the same Group, by which one Tribe obtains from another articles which are not manufactured, or do not exist, in the country of the former.

They have no idea of agriculture, nor, until our advent, did they attempt to tame or train any animals or birds.

Sport with an Andamanese is the mainspring of his life, and he not only kills to eat, but also from sheer delight of the chase. Their weapons are, harpoons for turtle (which are never turned), and dugong, and such large fishes as porpoises; bow and arrows for all else. There are two kinds of arrows, one very long one with a straight head, pointed and barbed, for ordinary shooting; and a peculiar shorter arrow with a detachable head having a broad heavily barbed blade, for pig shooting.

The harpoon is not known to the Öngé Group of Tribes, and each Group has an entirely different shape of bow. There is a common resemblance between all the arrows. The Öngé Group, and occasionally the North Andaman Group, use arrows with two, three and four heads. The Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, and in the dense jungle it is impossible to distinguish game afar. They judge direction fairly well, but cannot allow for distance.

The way in which they shoot fish darting about in the surf (they have no hooks or lines) is really wonderful, and defies imitation.

The Great Andaman Tribes make a large net into which they drive turtle and so catch them unwounded.

Canoes, etc.—Two varieties are used, the oldest form having an outrigger, and a huge modern form found in the South Andaman Group only, without an outrigger. These are hollowed from a single log of some light soft wood, by adze cuts only, and without the use of fire. They do not last long, and are far from being good sea boats.

They have two modes of propelling these canoes; one, by paddling with small paddles like children's wooden spades, which mode is used in deep water; and the other, by poling, which is used in shallow water. Owing to their buoyancy and very light draught these canoes can, under such an impetus to the oarsmen as fear, or the excitement of the chase, be made to travel for a short distance at a considerable speed. They are able indeed to outstrip the boats ordinarily supplied to merchant vessels, which are designed for safety in a heavy sea, and not for speed. The Andamanese do not venture far from land, and would certainly never go out of sight of land. We must dismiss as untenable the stories of the raids that the Andamanese are said to have made in their canoes on the Car Nicobar. The islands are over 80 miles apart at the nearest point, and are very low. The Andamanese having no idea of steering by compass or stars, and no method of storing water for such a voyage, would never attempt it, even if they knew of the existence and approximate direction of the Car Nicobar, which is doubtful. They have not even attempted to go from Landfall Island to the Coco Islands, where the distance to be crossed is only 30 miles.

They cook their food, eating nothing raw (though often *rare*), and make cooking pots slightly differing in shape among the different Groups of Tribes by having pointed or rounded bottoms. The special clay from which these are made is only found in certain parts of the islands, and the pots in consequence form an important article of barter. They are moulded by hand, sun-dried, and half-baked in the fire. The slightest ornamentation in the form of wavy lines is attempted. They are not glazed.

Iron has only been in use since it has been obtainable from wrecks, shells and fish bones being used instead. Neatly formed baskets are made, differing in shape among the different Groups of Tribes, also buckets of wood and bamboo.

String is obtained from the inner bark of certain creeping shrubs, and a stout cord is made from the inner bark of the tree "Melochia Velutina." Most of their weapons and utensils are coarse and rude, and stone implements are not used (except the flakes of quartz for shaving with). A small adze is the principal cutting instrument, and a valve of the Cyrena shell is used as a knife. Rather neat sleeping mats, made from strips of cane bark, are used; and the two articles of principal note among the ornaments are the fringes of the shell, Dentalium Octogonum, and the handsome wreaths used by the Öngé Group of Tribes, ornamented with the straw-coloured, roasted, bark of a species of Dendrobium. Skulls, jawbones, and necklaces of human and other bones, and shells, are worn.

Amusements.—Though the youths have many simple games at which they play, the main object of Andamanese life, next to sport, is the dance. This takes place every evening when a few people are gathered together, and continues for hours; and occasionally they have special meetings of Tribes or Septs for dances which assume a ceremonial form and last for days.

The music is vocal only, accompanied by a dull rhythmical beat on a hollow wooden drum, and the clapping of hands, and is very monotonous, the compass of the song being only about four semitones with the intermediate quarter-tones. There are five varieties of dances among the different tribes, and they are peculiar and not easily described, except at greater length than can be permitted here.

Years of intercourse with the Andamanese have taught us that civilisation can give them nothing to compensate for the life in their own jungle, and, however kindly and well treated they may be, they are always ready to leave the Settlement with its comforts (and, to them, luxuries), for their wild jungle life, its sport, food, and amusements. If we are asked why the Andamanese have not been more

civilised, the answer is that civilisation cannot be forced on a race; a want must be created before it can be gratified; and to attempt, as at one time was done, to force a nomadic hunting race to become agriculturists, when the labour of agriculture is irksome, takes the people from the pursuits they like, and does not supply any want that they feel, is both absurd and impolitic, as liable to estrange them when their friendship is for many reasons important.

It must be borne in mind that the object of the Government of India in establishing friendly relations with the Andamanese is two-fold :—

1st—For the general good, in order that the crews of ship-wrecked vessels may be well-treated, and assisted to the Settlement of Port Blair.

2nd.—For the individual good of that Settlement, in order that the aborigines may cease from fighting with the settlers, and impeding progress, and that they may act as a jungle police in recapturing escaped convicts.

The following pages will show that this has been satisfactorily done, and the above description of the savages will give the reader some idea of the difficulties which were met with in doing it.

CHAPTER III.

Early accounts of the Andamanese—Claudius Ptolemy—Renaudot, and Arab notes—The Travels of Two Muhammedans through India and China—Pemberton—Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels—Marco Polo—Colonel Yule—Friar Odoric—Nicolo Conti—Dr. Anderson—Dr. Careri—Cesare Federici—Hamilton—Establishment of the Settlement in 1789—Lieutenant Colebrooke's Journal—Lieutenant Colebrooke's Monograph on the Andamanese—Notes on the Monograph.

THAT the existence of a chain of Islands from Cape Negrais to Sumatra was known in the 2nd century, is shown by Claudius Ptolemy's writings, and the maps made from those writings, in which the Island of "Buzacata" is laid down; but we cannot determine whether this name was intended to apply to the Andaman Group, and we have no information regarding it other than that "it produces quantities of shells, and the inhabitants go naked and are called Agmatæ."

The so-called maps of Ptolemy show also in the same sea an "Island of Cannibals," called "The Island of Good Fortune," Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. It is worthy of note that Ptolemy never drew any maps himself: those to be found in the oldest editions of his work are by Agathodæmon (a mathematician of the 5th (?) century after Christ), though accurately based, it is true, on Ptolemy's data.

The name of this cartographer gives rise to suspicions. Ptolemy *writes* of "Buzacata" only. The map shows the "Cannibal Island" of "Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος" for which name we have no authority.

May not the cartographer have called the island after himself?

The first distinct notice of the Andamans is in the collection of early Arab notes on India and China, which was translated by Eus. Renaudot; this account was copied by Pemberton and Harris, and we obtain the following as the current belief at that time, and for centuries later, regarding the Andamanese.

(In the Ptolemaic maps up to 1490 islands are shown on either side of the Malay Peninsula, all of which are said to be inhabited by Anthropophagi.)

The Travels of Two Muhammedans through India and China, Pemberton's General Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1811, Vol. 7, page 183.

"Beyond these two islands lies the sea of Andaman: the people on this coast eat human flesh quite raw; their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful, their feet are very large, and almost a cubit in length, and they go quite naked. They have no sort of barks or other vessels; if they had, they would seize and devour all the passengers they could lay hands on. When ships have been kept back by contrary winds, they are often in these seas obliged to drop anchor on this barbarous coast for the sake of water, when they have expended their stock; and upon these occasions they commonly lose some of their men."

It is evident that these travellers did not themselves visit the Andamans, and their account is borrowed from the tales current in the neighbouring countries at the time. The Andamanese probably possessed canoes long prior to the period referred to. It should be remembered that it was to the interest of the pirates who made the Andamans a head-quarters for their raids, and also slaved the aborigines, to exaggerate the real dangers they encountered, and spread such tales regarding the Andamans as would keep others away.

In Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels we find, after the above description of the Andamans, the following:—

"Beyond this is a mountainous but uninhabited Island where it is said there are mines of silver; but, as it does not lie in the usual track of shipping, many have sought for it in vain, though it is remarkable for a mountain called Kashenal. It once so happened that a ship sailing in this latitude had sight of the mountain and shaped her course for it, and falling in with the land, sent a boat on shore with hands to cut wood. The men kindled a fire and saw silver run from it which plainly indicated there was a mine of this metal in that place; they shipped, therefore, as much of the earth or ore as they thought fit, but as they were proceeding on their voyage, they met with such a storm that, to lighten the ship, they were under the

necessity of throwing all the ore overboard. Since that time, the mountain has been carefully sought for, but has never again been seen."

Possibly some island in the Nicobar group is here referred to. The name of the mountain resembles that of the island of "Katchall," and, as will be seen presently in the extract from Hamilton's Voyages, quicksilver is said to have been found in these parts. In those days the Andamans and Nicobars seem to have been hopelessly mixed together, and in the rocks of the Andamans there is nothing to lead us to suppose that either silver or quicksilver will be found.

Marco Polo passed by the Andamans in 1290, and writes:—

"Angamanain is a very long island. The people are without a king, and are idolaters, and no better than wild beasts. And I assure you all the men of this island of Angamanain have heads like dogs, and teeth and eyes likewise; in fact, in the face they are just like big mastiff dogs. They have a quantity of spices: but they are a most cruel generation, and eat everybody that they can catch, if not of their own race. They live on flesh and rice and milk, and have fruits different from any of ours."

The whole account is evidently from hearsay, being utterly incorrect and absurd. Such accounts are the basis of most of our information regarding the Andamans till recent times. Colonel Yule, in his "Marco Polo" writes:

"Abraham Rogers tells us that the Coromandel Brahmins used to say that the Rakshasas or demons had their abode 'on the island of Andaman, lying on the route from Pulicat to Pegu,' and also that they were man-eaters. This would be very curious if it were a genuine old Brahminical Saga; but I fear it may have been gathered from the Arab Seamen. Still, it is remarkable that a strange, weird-looking island, which rises, covered with forest, a steep and regular volcanic cone, straight out of the deep sea to the eastward of the Andaman group, bears the name of Narkandam in which one cannot but recognise 'Narak' 'Hell.' Can it be that, in old times, but still contemporary with Hindu navigation, this volcano was active, and that some

Brahmin Saint Brandon recognised in it the mouth of Hell, congenial to the Rakshasas of the adjacent group ?"

In the above, Colonel Yule was misled by the general idea that Narcondam was a volcanic cone, and had been an active volcano. His note is, however, of importance as showing that the Andamans were on a trade route, and therefore a convenient rendezvous for pirates who wished to prey on the trade; also, that the existence of the aborigines and their hostility to all comers was even then well-known.

Friar Odoric passed the Andamans in about 1322, and mixes up all the tales of the Andamanese, Nicobarese, and the cannibal Battas of Sumatra, calling the people dog-faced, cannibals, also traders, etc.; he did not touch at the islands.

It is probable that the ferocious cannibalism of the Battas of Sumatra was then known, and the Andamanese being so hostile to all strangers, and having the custom in certain parts of burning the bodies of their dead enemies, they were called cannibals too.

Nicolo Conti (*circa* 1440) mentions the Andaman Islands. He calls them "Andamania," which he explains to mean the "Island of Gold," and gives their circumference at 800 miles. He speaks of a lake with peculiar virtues existing on the islands, says the inhabitants are cannibals, and adds that no travellers touch here unless driven to do so by bad weather; for, when taken, they are torn to pieces and devoured by these cruel savages.

No gold has yet been found on the Andamans, nor is there any reason to suppose that it will be found. No such lake exists, though the story has found credence in our own time, because the Andamanese speak of lakes in the interior. These, being investigated, are found to be the smallest swampy pools.

With reference to the tale in Harris's Voyages, and the statement of Nicolo Conti, Dr. J. Anderson observes:

"This myth expired very slowly, and existed down to the end of the 17th century. Dr. Careri's (Giro del Mondo, t. III, page 290) notice of it is among the last, but he gives the English the credit of having originated it, but when, he does not say.

"The story related by him was, that an English ship having been driven to take shelter from a storm, not at the Andamans, but at the Nicobars, to the south of them, a native, who had taken some fresh water on board the ship, spilt some on the anchor, the iron of which was turned into gold wherever the water had touched it. The crew after they had learnt from the native that the water came from a well in the island, killed him!

"This report of the gold-producing quality of the water, Gemilli Careri says, he had been told on high authority, had led the Dutch to appropriate the Nicobars towards the end of the 17th century."

Such legends led to Dr. Helfer's unfortunate expedition to the Andamans in 1839.

Cesare Federici, in 1569, mentions the ferocity of the Andamanese, and the following extract is given from Hamilton's account of the East Indies. (Pinkerton's Vol. VIII, pages 430, 431.)

"The Islands opposite to the coast of Tenasserim are the Andamans. They lie about eighty leagues off, and are surrounded by many dangerous banks and rocks; they are all inhabited with cannibals, who are so fearless, that they will swim off to a boat if she approach near the shore, and attack her with their wooden weapons, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers in the boat, and the advantages of missive arms of iron, steel, and fire.

"I knew one Fergusson, who commanded a ship from Fort St. George, bound from Malacca to Bengal in company with another ship, going too near one of the Andaman Islands, was driven, by the force of a strong current, on some rocks, and the ship lost. The other ship was driven through a channel between two of the same islands, and was not able to assist the shipwrecked men, but neither Fergusson nor any of his people were ever more heard of, which gave ground to conjecture that they were all devoured by those savage cannibals.

"I saw one of the natives of those islands at Atcheen, in anno 1694. He was then about forty years of age. The Andamaners had a yearly custom to come to the Nicobar Islands, with a great number of small praws, and kill or take prisoners as many of the poor Nicobarians as

they could overcome. The Nicobarians again joined their forces, and gave the cannibals battle, when they met with them, and one time defeated them, and gave no quarter to the Andamaners. This man above mentioned, when a boy of ten or twelve years of age, accompanied his father in the wars, and was taken prisoner, and his youth recommending him to mercy, they saved his life, and made him a slave. After he continued so three or four years, he was carried to Atcheen to be sold for cloth, knives, and tobacco, which are the commodities most wanting on the Nicobars. The Atcheeners being Mohammedans, this boy's patron bred him up in that religion, and some years after, his master dying gave him his freedom; he having a great desire to see his native country, took a praw, and the months of December, January, and February, being fair weather, and the sea smooth, he ventured to the sea, in order to go to his own country, from the Islands of Gomas and Pulleywey, which lie near Atcheen. Here the southernmost of the Nicobars may be seen, and so one island may be seen from another from the southernmost of those to Chetty-Andaman, which is the southernmost of the Andamans, which are distant from Atcheen about an hundred leagues. Arriving among his relations, he was made welcome, with great demonstrations of joy to see him alive, whom they expected to have been long dead.

"Having retained his native language, he gave them an account of his adventures; and, as the Andamaners have no notion of Deity, he acquainted them with the knowledge he had of a God, and would have persuaded his countrymen to learn of him the way to adore God, and to obey his laws, but he could make no converts. When he had stayed a month or two, he took leave to be gone again, which they permitted, on condition that he would return. He brought along with him four or five hundredweight of quicksilver, and he said that some of the Andaman Islands abound in that commodity. He had made several voyages thither before I saw him., and always brought some quicksilver along with him. Some Mohammedan Fakirs would fain have accompanied him in his voyages, but he would never suffer them, because, he said, he could not engage for their safety among his countrymen. When I saw him he was in company with a Seid, whom

I carried a passenger to Surat, and from whom I had this account of his adventures."

The origin for such an extraordinary fable it is difficult to give. As we know well, the Andamanese are not, and never have been, cannibals, and their canoes and habits, as well as their intellects, are such as to put any idea of such voyaging out of the question. No man could cross the Ten Degree Channel with a load of quicksilver, in an Andamanese canoe, except by the merest chance. From my personal experience with "travelled" Andamanese I am aware that, given the necessary ideas, they are quite capable of inventing such a fable; but from the fact that Mr. Man assures me that the tradition still exists on the Car Nicobar, that raids were made there by the Andamanese, who are fairly accurately described, I should suppose that Malay pirates with Andamanese slaves on board have raided, and enslaved, the Nicobarese also.

The story would seem to have filtered through several people, and the quicksilver part, and travelling from Atcheen, can only refer, if it be true at all, to the Nicobars. It appears as if the present was the outcome of many stories mixed together, in which the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and their very different inhabitants are confused, and the few facts there may be in it, have been overlaid with a great deal of invention.

Colonel Cadell, who was for twelve years Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, characterised the story to me, as "the lying invention of an Arab Sheikh, who did not want the truth known about the slave he had kidnapped."

In 1788-89 the Government of Bengal sought to establish in the Andaman Islands a penal colony associated with a harbour of refuge. Lieutenant Colebrooke of the Bengal Engineers, and Lieutenant Archibald Blair of the Indian Navy, were sent to survey and report. The result of their report was that a Settlement was established by Lieutenant Blair, in September, 1789, on Chatham Island, on the south-east bay of the Great Andaman, now called Port Blair, but then called Port Cornwallis.

To us, who followed in the footsteps of these officers at an interval of over 60 years, and with greatly improved means of communication with India, and far superior appliances for forming a Settlement, it has always been a matter of admiration to notice how carefully their work was done, and how simply and yet how absolutely correctly their notes were recorded. That both officers were men of first class ability, there can be no doubt; and it is to be regretted that so few records of their work in the Andamans can now be found.

Extracts from Lieutenant Colebrooke's Journal of a voyage to the Andaman Islands (1789-90.)

20th December, 1789.—We sailed from Diamond Island at about 11 o'clock.

21st December.—At daybreak this morning we found ourselves (in the *Atalanta*) about three leagues to the westward of Preparis Id. At about 11 o'clock the man at the masthead discovered the Cocos Ids. ahead. In the evening we had passed the Cocos, and were in sight of Narcondam, about 20 leagues, E. S. E.

22nd December.—In the morning we saw the Saddle Mountain upon the Great Andaman Id. We steered south during the whole day and passed the cluster of Ids. called Archipelago, on the East side of the Great Island. They are all covered with wood, and some are surrounded by rocky cliffs. About 6 P.M. we weathered the southernmost of these islands and bore away West by South for Port Cornwallis;* but night coming on, the Captain thought it best to lay to for the night, and not to run into a strange harbour in the dark.

23rd December.—About four in the morning we made sail and entered the Harbour called Port Cornwallis at about 8 o'clock. Here we found the *Perseverance* and *Ariel* at anchor; likewise the *Ranger* and *Viper*, which last vessel had overtaken us and run in during the night.

* This, it must be remembered, is the modern Port Blair.

24th December.—Captain D——and myself went up the Harbour in a boat to the distance of about 3 miles. We saw upon a rocky point about twenty or thirty of the natives: they appeared to be quite naked and besmeared with mud.

25th December.—Went on shore upon Chatham Id. to take views. This is a very small Id. near the entrance of the Harbour where Mr. Blair, the Marine Surveyor, has lately erected a small house with wood and canvas. He has already cleared away a great deal of the wood on the Id., and planted a small garden.

26th December.—Went in company with Commodore Cornwallis up the Harbour. We had in the barge one of the natives, who some time ago had been taken in a skirmish by the people of the *Viper*. He had the mark of a pistol ball which had gone through his nose, and put out one of his eyes. He appeared to be very cheerful, and quite reconciled to his captivity. It appears that when the *Ranger* and *Viper* Brigs first entered this Harbour the natives were extremely hostile: they attacked the boats which went ashore for water, and even ventured to approach the vessels and discharged their arrows at them. One of the crew had an arrow shot through his shoulder, and probably some would have lost their lives, had not the timely discharge of two or three muskets put a stop to their attack. In one of these skirmishes a native was unfortunately killed, upon which the rest ran off, making the most doleful lamentations.

We sailed up to the furthest extremity of the Harbour about five or six miles and entered a creek which had the appearance of a river; but when we had rowed up about two miles through mangroves and thickets, and not finding the water in the least sweeter, we concluded that it was only a salt creek, which probably terminated a little further. The shores on each side were lined with mangroves, except in two or three places, where the ground was high and covered with trees.

We went ashore to look at a hut which appeared to be inhabited, but we found it deserted. It was a most wretched little shed, built of sticks and leaves. We found in it some bones, which appeared to be those of a wild hog, suspended to the roof by strings. The ground about the hut was strewed with the shells of oysters, mussels, cockles,

and other shell-fish. In returning down the creek, we discovered one of the natives in a tree. The instant he perceived us he ran down with as much agility as a monkey, making a great noise, and calling to two others who were below. One of them we took to be a woman, by her voice, as we could not see her. The Commodore threw ashore two or three cocoa-nuts as a token of friendship, but the boat being very near the shore they did not venture at first to pick them up. We rowed away a little, and one of them came slowly towards the cocoa-nuts till, being near enough, he snatched them up eagerly and ran off. It appears that cocoa-nuts do not grow here, at least we have not yet discovered any. Those which were given to the natives were brought by the *Ranger* from the Nicobars. We dined on our return upon a small hill which had been called Mount Pleasant. It commands an extensive view of the harbour and the country around. In the afternoon we returned towards the ship, but seeing one of the natives on shore we stopped a few minutes to hold a conference with him. He was a man of the middle size and tolerably well shaped. His wool was rubbed with a kind of red earth, and the rest of his body smeared with mud. He wore round his neck and left arm a kind of ornament which looked like a fringe of dried grass. He appeared very cautious of approaching us; probably, for fear of being seized; however, he allowed Mr. K —— to draw near him, and readily exchanged his bow and arrows for a knife which was presented to him. He had under his arm a small basket into which he deposited everything that was given to him. We gave him some handfulls of biscuit, and, on rowing away, we saw him sit down on the rock and eat of it with great avidity.

27th December.—This morning the *Ranger* Snow sailed for Bengal. She was sent with despatches by Commodore Cornwallis to the Governor-General of Bengal. A native who had been on board of this vessel about three weeks, and who appeared to be perfectly reconciled and pleased with his new mode of living, was left on board of our ship. At the same time the Commodore gave orders that if he wished to go on shore and return to his countrymen an opportunity should be given him to desert; he was accordingly put into a boat and sent ashore. There happened to be at this time a few of the natives

in sight, and we desired him to go and join them. He seemed to be actuated by a sudden impulse of joy at seeing them. He sprung out of the boat and flung down his hat and ran towards them. They did not immediately recognise him for one of their countrymen, as he had been clothed on board the *Ranger* with a jacket and trousers. He soon disencumbered himself from his clothes, and returned to that state of nature which he had from his infancy been accustomed to. They immediately seemed to congratulate him upon his safe escape, and they all together ran into the woods.

28th December.—Nothing material occurred this morning. In the afternoon the Commodore, etc., rowed toward the rocky point, and held a conference with the same native whom we visited on the 26th. He was sitting upon the rocks with a fire, at which he had been roasting some shell-fish. He was attended by a woman and girl, both perfectly naked and their skins daubed with mud.

29th December.—This morning the natives showed an inclination to be very hostile and mischievous. The Commodore had an interview with several of them in a little Bay on the Eastern side of the Harbour. They appeared at first perfectly good-humoured. Presently a man armed with a bow came down from the wood apparently very much enraged; he made a great noise and harangued them, as if to spur them on to an attack. He discharged an arrow himself, and his example was immediately followed by all the rest; above fifty arrows flew over the boat and one went through the awning. Our people fired a musket over their heads. Luckily no person in the boat was hurt, and the Commodore, not wishing to take advantage of the superior efficacy of our muskets, prevented our men from firing at them and rowed away. Some people from the *Ariel* were also attacked near their watering place, and seeing themselves closely pressed, were obliged to discharge two or three muskets, by which one of the natives was killed on the spot. We dined upon Mount Pleasant and rowed towards the rocky point after dinner. Here we found about twenty of the natives assembled. Some drew back into the woods with their bows and arrows, others picked up stones as if to annoy us. They showed by their actions a great inclination to be troublesome; but seeing

two muskets ready to fire they remained quiet, and we returned to the ships."

On the 31st December Lieutenant Colebrooke visited the Nicobar Islands, returning to Port Cornwallis on the 21st February, 1790.

He notes of the Cinque Islands that they are high and rocky, covered with trees and brush-wood, do not appear to be inhabited, and some of them appear to be hardly accessible.

On the 19th March, 1790, he sailed up the islands, visiting Shoal Bay, Oyster Bay, where he notes the quantity of good oysters, and Port Meadows. He calls this a most capacious and noble harbour.

"The shores of it are mostly lined with mangroves, and the land is much lower than the country about Port Cornwallis, and might probably be much sooner brought to a state of cultivation. At the mouth of this Bay is a very pleasant looking Id., and the channel on each side seems to be perfectly navigable. We saw a canoe with four or five of the natives cross over from the small island to the main, and in the afternoon we found upon the former a hut, which appeared to have been recently deserted.

23rd March.—This morning we made a survey of the Harbour, by taking bearings and angles in different directions and calculating distances by sound from the report of guns and muskets. We rowed out in our small boat to a rocky point at the Northern Entrance of the Harbour. Here we stayed about an hour to make our observations and take views. We saw three canoes with about twenty of the natives coming round a point to the Northward, probably with an intention to attack us. This induced us to abandon the rock, and we got into our boat. We fired two muskets in the air for a signal of sound. This appeared to alarm the natives, for they began rowing back immediately. Great numbers of sharks were swimming about, which appeared to be very ravenous. (On the 24th March, the Middle Strait was examined.)

26th March.—This morning we stood over to the Ids. called Archipelago, about seven or eight miles to the Eastward of the main Id. We had been informed that there was a tolerable Harbour among them. About 11 o'clock we got into this supposed harbour, but found that it was totally unfit for the purpose. We saw here two

or three canoes with some Caffres. They were busy in fishing and did not appear to take much notice of us. However, in passing a rocky point, we saw distinctly with our glasses some of the natives hid among the stones with their bows and arrows. One of them had advanced into the water, and was calling out to us as loud as he could. Their intension was probably to allure some of us on shore, and to attack us suddenly if we landed.

(27th March.—He rowed up the passage inside Colebrooke Island,* and saw several of the natives' huts, and near to one there were some cocoa-nut trees.

28th March.—He went into the Bay between Guitar* and Passage Islands and anchored.)

29th March.—We saw two huts, and some of the natives sitting under them. Also a canoe with three men, who appeared to be very much alarmed at the sight of the vessels and were paddling away as hard as they could.

30th March.—We moved this morning to the northern part of the Bay. A party was sent ashore to look for a watering place. They found at last a small well which had been dug by the natives, but the water was a little brackish, which prevented our filling the casks. We saw some huts and one of their canoes. In the former were found several skulls and jaw bones of wild hogs, some of which were painted in a chequered manner with red. They were strung together with slips of rattan and suspended to the roof. In the canoe were two small paddles shaped like spades. While the party was on shore looking for water the natives were observed from on board the *Ranger* watching their motions and probably meditating an attack, but our party was sufficiently strong to encounter a great number of them, having six men armed with muskets and bayonets. There were several pathways leading through the woods.

31st March.—About 11 o'clock we stood out of the Bay with the sea-breeze. We sailed up the coast about eight miles, and anchored in the afternoon within half a mile of the shore. Captain K—— and

* These names were not known then.

Mr. M—— took an airing in the boat and saw a great number of the natives. They shot about a dozen arrows at the boat, but not one flew near enough to do any mischief. A couple of muskets fired over their heads induced them to retreat into the woods. The arrows were picked up from the surface of the water and brought on board. We found some of them headed with fish bones, which was what we had never observed before.

(The party then proceeded to Stewart's Sound, arriving there on the 2nd April. They saw a large shark, which they judged to be near 25 feet in length and above four feet in breadth over the shoulders. He was spotted like a leopard.)

3rd April.—We cruized about the Bay to examine it. A boat belonging to the *Ranger* being left upon the spot where the vessel had anchored, was attacked by some of the natives in their canoes. They came suddenly out from behind the mangroves and discharged a great number of arrows, some of which went through the boat's sail. There were only two lascars in the boat, and they had no fire-arms; so that they were obliged to retreat as fast as they could with the loss of their grapnel and twenty fathoms of rope. One of the arrows which dropped in the boat measured five feet six inches.

4th April.—A canoe with two men came off this morning from the shore. They showed at first an inclination to come on board. We bore down to get near them, but when we had got within two hundred yards of them they would approach no nearer, but kept talking to us in a loud and angry tone. We heard the voices of some people on shore, among whom we could distinguish some women, who were calling out to them as if apprehensive of their getting into danger and wishing them to return.

We threw overboard two empty bottles which they picked up from the water when they had drifted astern to some distance. Finding that we could not induce them to come nearer, Mr. W—— with three or four men went after them in our boat to endeavour to bring them to a conference, but in vain. They paddled off as hard as they could, nor could our boats get near them. While our boat was in pursuit of them, we observed their motions from the vessel with our telescopes.

They at first appeared to be alarmed, but soon showed signs of resolution and coolness. The foremost man put down his paddle and very deliberately baled out the water. He then took up his bow and arrows from the bottom of the canoe and laid them down by him. The other now and then stopped paddling to look behind him. He made signs to our people to come on, and at last clapped his hand to his posteriors, probably as a mark of contempt. In the afternoon Captain K—— and Mr. W—— went out in the boat; they saw one of the natives upon the beach, who called out and made signs to them to come near, but it was only with an intention of leading them into a snare, for the boat had no sooner approached within fifty paces of him than Captain K—— perceived a number of men laying in ambush under the mangroves. When they found themselves detected they rushed out and sent a shower of arrows at the boat, some of which flew over it. Two muskets were fired over their heads, which made them retreat, and our people picked up about thirty of their arrows from the water. They were all headed with fish bones and some were six feet long.* "

(On the 6th April they passed close under Saddle Mountain, estimated to be not less than 2,500 feet in height. Lieutenant Blair went ashore and saw some of the natives, who fled at his approach.

On the 7th April they discovered the present Port Cornwallis. Lieutenant Blair, with the *Ranger* and *Viper*, went in to survey and examine it. Lieutenant Colebrooke proceeded to Bengal.)

The following points in the above Journal call for note :—

The usual hostile attacks by the aborigines commenced as soon as Lieutenant Blair arrived, and were stopped in each instance by a discharge of fire-arms with fatal effect. There can be no doubt that, before this, these savages knew and dreaded fire-arms.

It was observed that no cocoa-nut palms grew in the Harbour, and the nuts were accordingly used as presents to the aborigines, in the hope of establishing friendly relations with them.

The description of the savage met with on the 6th December, 1789, proves him to have been what is now known as a "Jàrawa," and

* Shorter arrows are now commonly used in the North Andaman.

this is substantiated by Lieutenant Colebrooke's subsequent account written in 1794. (This is inserted and commented on later.)

The Snow *Ranger*. It may not be generally known that a "Snow" was a craft frequently met with in the 17th and 18th centuries, and was a brig, which had her Boom Mainsail set on a trysail mast, instead of, as in the present way, on the mast itself.

Lieutenant Colebrooke does not seem to have noticed the differences between the aborigines he came in contact with in Port Cornwallis and the others, belonging to other tribes, whom he met with farther North. The gesture of contempt, mentioned in the Diary for the 4th of April, is peculiar to the North Andaman Group of Tribes. It will be observed that a few isolated cocoa-nut palms then existed at the Andamanese villages.

In 1794 Lieutenant R. H. Colebrooke published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal the following monograph on the Andamanese, which is of the highest importance, being the first really careful and trustworthy account we have of these people.

On the Andaman Islands. By Lieutenant R. H. Colebrooke, 1794.

"The Andaman Islands are situated on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal,* extending from North Latitude 10°. 32′. to 13°. 40′. Their Longitude is from 92° 6′ to 91° 59′ East of Greenwich. The Great Andaman, or that portion of the land hitherto so called, is about one hundred and forty-five British miles in length, but not more than twenty in the broadest parts. Its coasts are indented by several deep

* It is perhaps a wonder that islands so extensive, and lying in the track of so many ships should have been, till of late years, so little known; that while the countries by which they are almost encircled, have been increasing in population and wealth, having been from time immemorial in a state of tolerable civilization, these islands should have remained in a state of nature, and their inhabitants plunged in the grossest ignorance and barbarity. The wild appearance of the country, and the untractable and ferocious disposition of the natives, have been the causes, probably, which have deterred navigators from frequenting them; and they have justly dreaded a shipwreck at the Andamans more than the danger of foundering in the ocean; for although it is highly probable that in the course of time many vessels have been wrecked upon their coasts, an instance does not occur of any of the crews being saved, or of a single person returning to give any account of such a disaster.

bays, affording excellent harbours, and it is intersected by many vast inlets and creeks, one of which has been found to run quite through, and is navigable for small vessels. The Little Andaman is the more southerly of the two, and lies within thirty leagues of the island Car Nicobar.

Its length is 28 miles by 17 in breadth, being more compact, but does not afford any harbour, although tolerable anchorage is found near its shores. The former is surrounded by a great number of smaller islands.

The shores of the main island, and indeed of all the rest, are in some parts rocky, and in a few places are lined with a smooth and sandy beach, where boats may easily land. The interior shores of the bays and creeks are almost invariably lined with mangroves, prickly fern, and a species of wild rattan ; while the inland parts are covered with a variety of tall trees, darkened by the intermixture of creepers, parasite plants, and underwood; which form altogether a vast and almost impervious forest, spreading over the whole country. The smaller islands are equally covered with wood; they mostly contain hills of a moderate height; but the main island is distinguished by a mountain of prodigious bulk, called from its shape the Saddle Peak; it is visible in clear weather at the distance of twenty-five leagues, being nearly two thousand four hundred feet in perpendicular height. There are no rivers of any size upon these islands, but a number of small rills pour down from the mountains, affording good water, and exhibiting in their descent over the rocks a variety of little cascades, which are overshaded by the superincumbent woods.

The soil is various in different part of these islands;* consisting of black rich mould, white and dark coloured clays, light sandy soil, clay mixed with pebbles of different colours, red and yellow earth; but the black mould is most common. Some white cliffs are met with

* I am indebted to Major Kyd and Captain Archibald Blair for many of the subsequent remarks. The latter was employed by Government in surveying these islands, and has the credit of having furnished the first complete and correct chart of the Andamans.

along the shores, which appear to have been originally clay, with a mixture of sand, hardened by time into the consistence of stone, but might be cut, and would probably answer for building.

Near the southern extremity of the great island, where it is mountainous and rocky, some indications of minerals have appeared, particularly of tin. There is also a kind of freestone, containing a yellow shining spar, resembling gold-dust. Some of the hills bordering the coasts exhibit blue schistous strata at their bases, with the breccia, or pudding stone ; and some specimens of red ochre have been found, not unlike cinnabar.

The extensive forests with which these islands are over-run produce a variety of trees fit for building, and many other purposes. The most common are the *poon*, dammer, and oil trees ; red wood, ebony, cotton-tree, and *buddaum* or almond-tree, *soondry*, *chingry*, and *bindy*, Alexandrian laurel, poplar, and a tree resembling the satin-wood ; bamboos, and plaas, with which the natives make their bows ; cutch, affording the extract called *Terra Japonica* ; the Mellori, or Nicobar bread-fruit ; aloes, ground rattans, and a variety of shrubs.

A few fruit trees have been found in a wild state ; but it is remarkable that cocoa-nuts, so common in other tropical countries, are here almost unknown. Many of the trees afford timbers and planks fit for the construction of ships, and others might answer for masts. A tree grows here to an enormous size, one having been found to measure thirty feet in circumference, producing a very rich dye, that might be of use in manufactures.

The only quadrupeds yet discovered in these islands are wild hogs, monkeys, and rats. Guanas and various reptiles abound ; among the latter is the green snake, very venomous ; centipedes of ten inches long, and scorpions.

A variety of birds are seen in the woods ; the most common are pigeons, crows, paroquets, kingfishers, curlews, fish-hawks, and owls. A species of humming bird, whose notes are not unlike the cuckoo, is frequently heard in the night.

The principal caverns and and recesses, composing part of the coast, give shelter to the birds that build edible nests; an article of commerce in the China market, where they are sold at a very high price. It has been thought that these nests are formed from a glutinous matter exuding from the sides of the caverns where these birds, during their nidification, resort. It is not known whether they emigrate; but the period of their incubation takes place in December, and continues till May. Not more than two white spotless eggs have been found in their nests; but they have been further supposed to breed monthly.

The harbours and inlets from the sea are plentifully stocked with a variety of fish; such as mullets, soles, pomfret, rock-fish, skate, gurnards, sardines, roeballs, sable, shad, aloose, cockup, grobers, seer-fish, old wives, yellow tails, snappers, devil-fish, cat-fish, prawns, shrimps, cray-fish, and many others, and a species resembling the whale, and sharks of an enormous size, are met with. A variety of shell-fish are found on the reefs, and in some places oysters of an excellent quality. Of the many madrepores, corallines, zoophytes, and shells, none have been yet discovered but such as are found elsewhere.

The Andaman Islands are inhabited by a race of men the least civilized, perhaps, in the world; being nearer to a state of nature than any people we read of. Their colour is of the darkest hue, their stature in general small, and their aspect uncouth. Their limbs are ill-formed and slender, their bellies prominent, and, like the Africans, they have woolly heads,* thick lips, and flat noses.

They go quite naked, the women wearing only at times a kind

* In this respect they differ from all the various tribes inhabiting the continent of Asia, or its islands. A story is somewhere told of a ship full of African slaves, of both sexes, having been cast away at the Andamans; and that having put to death their masters and the ship's crew, they spread themselves over, and peopled the country. This story does not appear to have been well authenticated, nor have I ever met with the particular author who relates it. They have been asserted by some to be cannibals, and by others (*vide* Captain Hamilton's Voyage, and all the Geographical Dictionaries) to be a harmless and inoffensive people, living chiefly on rice and vegetables. That they are cannibals has never been fully proved, although from their cruel and sanguinary disposition, great voracity, and cunning modes of lying in ambush, there is reason to

of tassel, or fringe, round the middle; which is intended merely for ornament, as they do not betray any signs of bashfulness when seen without it.

The men are cunning, crafty and revengeful; and frequently express their aversion to strangers in a loud and threatening tone of voice, exhibiting various signs of defiance, and expressing their contempt by the most indecent gestures. At other times they appear quiet and docile, with the most insidious intent. They will affect to enter into a friendly conference, when, after receiving with a show of humility whatever articles may be presented to them, they set up a shout, and discharge their arrows at the donors. On the appearance of a vessel or boat, they frequently lie in ambush among the trees, and send one of their gang, who is generally the oldest among them, to the water's edge, to endeavour by friendly signs to allure the strangers on shore. Should the crew venture to land without arms, they instantly rush out from their lurking places, and attack them. In these skirmishes they display much resolution, and will sometimes plunge into the water to seize the boat; and they have been known even to discharge their arrows while in the act of swimming. Their mode of life is degrading to human nature, and, like brutes, their

suspect, that in attacking strangers they are frequently impelled by hunger, as they invariably put to death the unfortunate victims who fall under their hands. No positive instance, however, has been known of their eating the flesh of their enemies; although the bodies of some, whom they have killed, have been found mangled and torn. It would be difficult to account for their unremitting hostility to strangers, without ascribing this as the cause, unless the story of their origin, as above-mentioned, should be true; in which case they might probably retain a tradition of having once been in a state of slavery. This in some degree would account for the rancour and enmity they shew; and they would naturally wage perpetual war with those whom they might suspect were come to invade their country, or enslave them again.

It would appear that these islands were known to the ancients (see Major Rennel's Memoirs, introduction, page XXXIX). They are mentioned, I believe, by Marco Polo; and in the ancient accounts of India and China, by two Mahommedan travellers, who went to those parts in the ninth century (translated from the Arabic by Eusebius Renaudot) may be seen the following curious account:— "Beyond these two islands (Nejabalus, probably Nicobars) lies the sea of Andaman; the people on this coast eat human flesh quite raw; their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful, their feet are very large and almost a cubit in length, and they go quite naked. They have no embarkations; if they had, they would devour all the passengers they could lay hands on," etc.

whole time is spent in search of food. They have yet made no attempts to cultivate their lands, but live entirely upon what they can pick up, or kill. In the morning they rub their skins with mud, and wallow in it like buffaloes, to prevent the annoyance of insects, and daub their woolly heads with red ochre, or cinnabar. Thus attired, they walk forth to their different occupations. The women bear the greatest part of the drudgery in collecting food, repairing to the reefs at the recess of the tide, to pick up shell-fish, while the men are hunting in the woods, or wading in the water to shoot fish with their bows and arrows. They are very dexterous at this extraordinary mode of fishing; which they practise also at night, by the light of a torch. In their excursions through the woods, a wild hog sometimes rewards their toil, and affords them a more ample repast. They broil their meat or fish over a kind of grid, made of bamboos; but use no salt, or any other seasoning.

The Andamaners display at times much colloquial vivacity, and are fond of singing and dancing; in which amusements the women equally participate. Their language is rather smooth than guttural; and their melodies are in the nature of recitative and chorus, not unpleasing. In dancing, they may be said to have improved on the strange republican dance asserted by Voltaire to have been exhibited in England: "Ou dansant à la ronde, chaçun donne des coups de pieds a son voisin, et en reçoit autant." The Andamaners likewise dance in a ring, each alternately kicking and slapping his own breech, *ad libitum*. Their salutation is performed by lifting up a leg and smacking with their hand the lower part of the thigh.

Their dwellings are the most wretched hovels imaginable. An Andaman hut may be considered the rudest and most imperfect attempt of the human race to procure shelter from the weather; and answers to the idea given by Vitruvius, of the buildings erected by the earliest inhabitants of the earth. Three or four sticks are planted in the ground, and fastened together at the top, in the form of a cone, over which a kind of thatch is formed with the branches and leaves of trees. An opening is left on one side, just large enough to

creep into ; and the ground beneath is strewed with dried leaves, upon which they lie. In these huts are frequently found the sculls of wild hogs, suspended to the roofs.

Their canoes are hollowed out of the trunks of trees by means of fire and instruments of stone, having no iron in use amongst them, except such utensils as they have procured from the Europeans and sailors who have lately visited these islands ; or from the wrecks of vessels formerly stranded on their coasts. They use also rafts made of bamboos to transport themselves across their harbours, or from one island to another. Their arms have already been mentioned in part ; I need only add that their bows are remarkably long, and of an uncommon form ; their arrows are headed with fish bones, or the tusks of wild hogs ; sometimes merely with a sharp bit of wood, hardened in the fire ; but these are sufficiently destructive. They use also a kind of shield ; and one or two other weapons have been seen amongst them. Of their implements for fishing and other purposes, little can be said. Hand nets of different sizes are used in catching the small fry; and a kind of wicker-basket, which they carry on their backs, serves to deposit whatever articles of food they can pick up. A few specimens of pottery-ware have been seen in these islands.

The climate of the Andaman Islands is rather milder than in Bengal. The prevailing winds are the south-west and north-east monsoons, the former commencing in May, and bringing in the rains ; which continue to fall with equal, if not greater, violence till November. At this time the north-east winds begin to blow, accompanied likewise by showers, but giving place to fair and pleasant weather during the rest of the year. These winds vary but little, and are interrupted only at times by the land and sea-breezes. The tides are regular, the floods setting in from the west and rising eight feet at the springs, with little variation in different parts. On the North-east coast it is high water at the full and change of the moon at 8° 33′. The variation of the needle is 2° 3′ 30″ easterly.

SPECIMEN OF THE ANDAMAN LANGUAGE.

Andaman Island, or native country.	Mincopie.
Ant	Ahooda.
Ant, white, in its winged state	Doughay. J.
Arrow	Buttohie. J.
Arm	Pilie. J.
Bat	Vilvila. B.
Bamboo	Otallie. J.
Bangle	Alai.
Basket	Teregay.
Black	Cheegheooga.
Blood	Cochengohee. J.
Bead	Tahee. J.
To Beat	Ingo taheya. J.
Belly	Napoy. J.
To Bind	Totoba oto goley toha. B.
Bird	Lohay. J.
To Bite	Moepaka. B.
Boat	Loccay.
Bear	Stohee.
Bow	Tongie.
Bow-string	Geetahie.
Breast	Cah. J.
Bone	Geetongay. J.
Charcoal	Wehee.
Chin	Pitang. J.
Cold	Choma.
Cocoa-nut	Bollatee.
Cotton cloth	Pangapee.
To Cough	Ingotahey. J.
Crow	Nohay. J.
To Cut	Hojeeha.
Door	Tang. B.

To Drink	Meengohee.	J.
Earth	Totongnangee.	J.
Ear	Quaka.	J.
To Eat	Ingelholiah.	J.
Elbow	Mohalajabay.	J.
Eye	Jabay.	J.
Finger	Momay.	J.
Fire	Mona.	
Fish	Nabohee.	
Fish-hook	Atabea.	B.
Flesh	Woohee.	
Foot	Gookee.	J.
Friend	Padoo.	
Frog	Etolay.	J.
Goat	Kokee.	
To Go	Oosseema.	
Grass	Tohobee.	
Hair	Ottee.	J.
Hand	Gonie. or Monie.	J.
Head	Tabay.	J.
Honey	Lorkay.	J.
Hot	Hooloo.	B.
House	Beaday.	J.
Jack Fruit	Abay.	
Jackal	Omay.	J.
Iron, or any metal	Dohie.	J.
Kiss	Itolie.	J.
Knee	Ingolay.	J.
To Laugh	Onkeomai.	J.
Leaf of a Tree	Tongolie.	B.
Leg	Chigie.	
Man	Camolan.	

Moon	Tabie.
Mosquito	Hohenangee.
Mouth	Morna.
Nail	Mobejedanga. J.
Neck	Tohie, J.
Net	Botolee. J.
Nose	Mellee.
Paddle or Oar	Mecal.
Pain	Alooda.
Palm	Dolai.
Paper	Pangpoy.
Pike	Woohalay.
To Pinch	Ingee Genecha. J.
Plantain-tree	Cholellee. J.
Pot	Bootchoohie. B.
To Pull	Totobati Gehooa.
Rain	Oye.
Red	Ghealiop.
Road	Echollee. J.
To Run	Gohabela. J.
To Scratch	Inkahey aha. J.
Seed	Kheetongay.
Sheep *	Neena.
Smoke	Boleenee.
To Sing	Gokobay. J.
To Sit down	Gongtohee.
Shadow	Tangtohee.
To Sleep	Comoha. J.
To Sneeze	Oh-cheka. J.
To Spit	Inkahoangy.
To Swim	Quaah. J.

* It may appear surprising that they should have names for animals—that are not found in their islands. This circumstance may tend to confirm the story of their origin.

To Swallow	Beebay.
Sky	Madamo.
Star	Chelobay. J.
Stone	Woolay.
Sun	Ahay.
To Take up	Catoha.
Thigh	Poye.
Teeth	Mahoy.
Tongue	Talie. J.
Thunder and lightning	Maufay-Maccee.
To Wash	Inga doha.
Wasp	Bohomakee.
To Walk	Boony-jaoa.
Water	Migway.
To Weep	Oana-wannah. J.
Wind	Tomjamay.
Wood	Tanghee. J.

(The notes to the above narrative are equally Colebrooke's with the body of it.)

With regard to this narrative, the following comments are offered: By "prickly pear" on the banks of the creeks, Colebrooke probably meant the species of Phœnix.

The "gold-dust" he noticed was probably iron pyrites, and the specimens of "red ochre," are red ochre, and not "cinnabar."

Forests.—By Red-wood, Padouk is understood. The ebony of commerce does not exist on the Andamans, nor do Alexandrian laurel, or poplar. Aloes also are not indigenous, otherwise the description of the jungle is a very good one.

Fauna.—Monkeys do not exist on the Andamans. The green snake is probably the *Trimeresurus*. The humming-bird with a note like a cuckoo has not been met with, two birds being here confounded.

Aborigines.—Colebrooke has evident doubts as to their alleged

cannibalism, but is loth to break with former traditions. The idea of the Andamanese being the offspring of ship-wrecked slaves he also receives with caution, but gives reasons for believing it.

The account shows that Blair was acquainted with two tribes in the South Andaman, as can be discerned from the vocabulary given and the description of their habits, etc. These two have apparently been supposed to be one, but the vocabulary and many of the habits refer only to the Jàrawa Tribe of the South Andaman, while the indecent gestures of contempt belong to the North Andaman Group of Tribes, and the fishing by night probably to the Áka-*Béa*-da Tribe of the South Andaman. The Áka-*Béa*-da keep their spare meat on a bamboo platform, but no Andamanese broils meat on a bamboo grid.

The dance described is that of the Öngé Group of Tribes.

The Áka-*Béa*-da use canoes, the Jàrawas generally use rafts. So far as I can learn (for the Andamanese have no recollection of the Settlement in 1790), it would appear that at that time the Jàrawas occupied the South side of the Harbour, and the Aka-*Béa*-da the North side. There were occasional individual friendly relations between the members of these two tribes, but they were then, as now, generally hostile. It is curious that the tribe most friendly disposed towards the Settlement in 1790 should have been the Tribe of Jàrawas with whom we have, in the present Settlement, entirely failed to establish friendly relations.

The "long bows" mentioned may be the very long and clumsy bows of the Jàrawa tribe, or the peculiarly shaped Áka-*Béa*-da bow. Colebrooke probably saw both. The tusks of wild hogs were not used for arrow heads.

What Colebrooke (and many others) takes for a "shield" is the "dancing board" of the South Andaman Group of Tribes. The Jàrawas have not got this.

Vocabulary.—The first word of this is "Mincopie" said to signify "The Andaman Islands," and hence the name "Mincopie" given generally to the Andamanese. Colebrooke's paper was little known, and the name remained as a puzzle to those who have had to do with the Andamanese since the formation of the present Settle-

ment in 1858, as the word was unknown to any of the tribes with whom we had friendly relations.

I append a list of words of the Öngé Group of Tribes which, allowing for difference of spelling, correspond with the words in Colebrooke's Vocabulary :

Arrow.	Bártói.
Arm.	Önibílé.
Bamboo	Āūdálé.
Breast.	Gágé.
Bone.	Íchin-dángé.
Chin.	Íbi-dángé.
Drink, to	Ínjóbé.
Earth.	Tutánó.
Ear.	Íkwágé.
Eat, to	Öniló kwálébé.
Eye.	Öníjébōī.
Finger.	Mómé.
Foot.	Mugé.
Hair.	Āūdé.
Hand.	Mómé.
House.	Bédai.
Iron adze.	Dōī-í.
Nail, of the finger.	Móbé-dungé.
Pinch, to.	Öni-giníbé.
Plantain-tree.	Yólāūlé.
Pot.	Búchu.
Road.	Íchélé.
Run, to.	Áhá-bélábé.
Sing, to.	Gögábábé.
Sleep, to.	Ómokábé. Ómohán.
Sneeze, to.	Échíbé.
Spit, to.	Öná-kwángé.

Swim, to.	Kwáné.
Star. (Moon.)	Chílömé.
Sun.	Éké.
Teeth.	Mákwé.
Water.	Ingé.
Weep, to.	Wánábé.
Canoe of Wood.	Dángé.

Note.—"Laugh" "Onkeomai," resembles a Jàrawa word for an indecent expression, which may have been what the person questioned was laughing at.

"Camolan" as a word for "Man" cannot be traced, but it seems to me that it may be a Jàrawa attempt to pronounce "Come along," a sentence the captives must have frequently heard.

Some of the words appear to me to have been obtained from the Áka-*Béa*-da tribe, and I have therefore marked against the words, as I identify them, J, for Jàrawa, and B. for Áka-*Béa*-da.

Some words I recognise as Jàrawa, but they have now entirely different meanings from those given, and this may be owing to misunderstandings on both sides. Thus the word for "moon" is given as "star."

I do not think this is in the least owing to the language having altered during the last hundred years, and I propose, when analysing the Vocabularies compiled during the first six years of the existence of the present penal Settlement (1858-64), to show how ludicrously misleading some of these misunderstandings are. Colebrooke evidently obtained his information at second-hand, and the persons from whom he obtained it could not have been long enough on friendly terms with the aborigines of any one tribe to have compiled a trustworthy vocabulary. The remarkable point about Colebrooke's paper is that it should contain so much that is reliable and correct.

The Andamanese are an intensely conservative people, and do not change their customs quickly, even under outside example and influence.

They are, however, not very ready to explain these customs, or to

enlighten strangers regarding their mode of life (partly from fear of ridicule); and, as I am well aware, will, out of sheer love of mischief, deliberately give incorrect information, or, as will be pointed out in subsequent comments on the Vocabularies, give abusive answers or indecent words to persons wishing to learn something of their language.

Much of our present information has been collected by a careful watching of their actions (coupled of course with a knowledge of their language), when they were not aware they were being so watched.

Nothing was easier than for the earlier observers, who did not know the language, to fall into error. Even in the present day educated men have spent years in the Andamans, and have left the Islands with very inaccurate ideas regarding the aborigines.

CHAPTER IV.

Lieutenant Blair's notes—Barren Island—Establishment of the Settlement—Extracts from the *Calcutta Gazette*—Change of the Settlement from the South to the North Andaman—Sickness—Abandonment of the Settlement—Major Kyd's Reports on the Andamanese—Voyage de Gaul Schouten aux Indes Orientales—Ritchie's Survey of the Andaman Islands—Extract from the *Calcutta Monthly Register*—Major Symes' account of the Andamanese—Notes on the account.

THE following brief account of our operations in the Andamans from 1789-96 has been obtained from Lieutenant Blair's notes.

On his arrival in the Islands he first examined the harbours, and comments on them with his usual accuracy and trustworthiness. He minutely surveyed Port Andaman and approved of it. He examined Port Campbell, but thought it would be difficult of access in the South-West monsoon. He noted that MacPherson's Straits was a good shelter with a bad anchorage, and above all approved of the present Port Blair. In September, 1789, he took possession of this Harbour, called it Port Cornwallis after the Governor-General, and a little colony was speedily formed. With his assistant, Lieutenant Wales, he appears to have divided his time between the surveying of the Andaman Islands and the establishment of this Settlement in Port Cornwallis.

His account of the Volcano of Barren Island, as he saw it on the 24th March, 1789, is interesting. He writes:—

"I left that coast March the 21st, and landed on Barren Island on the 24th. The Volcano was in a violent state of eruption, bursting out immense volumes of smoke, and frequently showers of red hot stones. Some were of a size to weigh three or four tons, and had been thrown some hundred yards past the foot of the cone. There were two or three eruptions while we were close to it: several of the red hot stones rolled down the sides of the cone and bounded a considerable way beyond us. The base of the cone is the lowest part of the island, and very little higher than the level of the

sea. It arises with an acclivity of 32°17′ to the height of 1,800 feet nearly, which is also the elevation of the other parts of the island.

"From the present figure it may be conjectured that the Volcano first broke out near the centre of the Island, or rather towards the north-west; and in a long process of time, by discharging, consuming, and undermining, has brought it to the present very extraordinary form, of which a very correct drawing by Lieutenant Wales will impress a distant idea.

"Those parts of the island that are distant from the Volcano are thinly covered with withered shrubs and blasted trees. It is situated in Latitude 12°15′ North, and fifteen leagues East of the northernmost island of the Archipelago, and may be seen at the distance of twelve leagues in clear weather. A quarter of a mile from the shore there is no ground with 150 fathoms of line."

The drawing of the volcano by Wales represents it as at present, with the addition of the smoke. If Blair was as correct as usual in his figures, the volcano was 650 feet higher then than it is now.

Lieutenant Blair fixed on Chatham Island as his head-quarters in Port Cornwallis, and by August, 1790, had cleared the greater portion of it, and planted it with vegetables and fruit trees. The higher parts of the Island were sown with grass.

Provisions were imported from Penang and Calcutta. One hundred and nineteen working men were housed, store-houses and a hospital were built, and there was little sickness. Lieutenant Blair seems to have at once attempted to open a trade in Andaman timbers, and some specimens were sent to Calcutta. Padouk was even then specially noticed, but only because, from its colour, it was thought it would yield a good dye.

A jungle road was cut in a southerly direction from the top of Phœnix Bay to the head of the bay next to it (probably Navy Bay), and this was intended to serve as a line of demarcation for the natives, while the clearing of the peninsula to the West of it (now called Haddo), was proceeded with, this having been selected on

account of its situation, soil, and being well watered, as the best place for immediate cultivation and improvement.

In December, 1790, the ship's guns, which had been placed in a redoubt on Chatham Island, as a protection against the Andamanese, had to be removed and replaced on board the *Ranger*, it being necessary to despatch that vessel to Penang to reinforce that Settlement, which was threatened by the neighbouring Malay tribes. The power of the Andamanese was now, however, justly estimated, and artillery as a defence against them was not required. A wharf was then constructed at Chatham, and completed in February, 1791, in time to facilitate the landing of 500 tons of naval stores, imported at that time for the use of His Majesty's ships, the whole of which, (*Perseverance*, *Vestal*, *Ariel*, *Atalanta*, and *Crown*), employed in the Bay of Bengal, now paid constant visits to the Andamans. Though recommended by Lieutenant Blair before, it was not until 1791 that those settlers who had visited Calcutta on their private affairs were allowed to take their families to the new colony.

Although from the fact that Lieutenant Blair was ignorant that he had more than one tribe of savages to deal with in the Harbour, and that the two tribes there were mutually hostile and ignorant of each other's languages, it is difficult to ascertain from his notes exactly what did pass, it would appear that he, very soon after his arrival, established friendly relations with the Jàrawa tribe who occupied the Southern half of the Harbour. The Áka-*Béa*-da, who occupied the Northern half, do not seem to have troubled him at first, though they did so later. He attributes their ferocity to the ill-treatment they had received from the Malays, about whom, and their slaving of the Andamanese, he seemed to have some information. Later on, owing to the attacks of the Áka-*Béa*-da, whom he confounded with the Jàrawas, he seems to have changed his opinion regarding the aborigines (to whom he was at first favourably inclined), and disliked and distrusted them.

That the Andamanese were cunning and crafty, and also treacherous, seems to have been known, but Lieutenant Blair notes; "Several of the natives have been carried off to gratify unwar-

rantable curiosity, and others have been entrapped and sold for slaves."

By the end of 1790 the Aka-*Béa*-da seem to have been giving a great deal of trouble, both from their open animosity and their treachery, and Lieutenant Blair mentions that a number of the aborigines had collected for an attack on the Settlement, which was frustrated by his seizing three of their large canoes which they had left unguarded. The existence of these canoes shows the tribe to have been the Áka-*Béa*-da, though I have some doubt as to the correct interpretation of their intentions by people who were totally ignorant of their language. These savages do not always mean all that they seem to mean.

The following occurrence is also related.

Sir R. Strachan, the Captain of His Majesty's Ship *Vestal*, had accompanied Lieutenant Blair on his visit to a portion of the Harbour at some distance from the Settlement, when they were joined by two young natives, who voluntarily accompanied them back to Chatham Island. "Their youth and apparent innocence," says Lieutenant Blair, "prevented my entertaining the least unfavourable suspicion of them," but they decamped during the night, and took away with them one of the boats, fragments of which were found some days afterwards at the place from whence the youths first came.

These youths *may* have come in with a preconcerted plan to steal, though it is difficult to understand how they could have been aware that Lieutenant Blair was going up the unfrequented parts of the Harbour on that particular day, but it seems equally likely that they intended to be friendly, but were frightened at something during the night and bolted. The Andamanese are very easily scared, and are timid and distrustful of strangers, particularly if too much attention is paid to them. They would of course take a boat in order to get away from the island, and it is not recorded that they took anything else. As will be shown later on, neither European sailors nor the ordinary Natives of India are the best and safest kind of guards to put over the Andamanese. In 1791 Lieutenant Blair notes that the Settlement was healthy and the aborigines no longer continued their

annoyances, but occasionally visited Chatham Island for the purpose of begging for some scraps of iron or a little food.

In March, 1792, he reports: "The Settlement had been so healthy as to suffer no injury from the absence of the surgeon, who had been to Calcutta on leave, and the natives have been perfectly inoffensive for a long time, and are becoming every day more familiar—they seem now convinced that our intentions towards them are pacific."

On one occasion, when the *Ranger* was about to proceed to the Southern Nicobar, one of the natives was induced to go in the vessel, and he was allowed to bring back as many cocoa-nuts as he pleased.

The Settlement in the Southern Port Cornwallis appears to have been a great success, both from a sanitary and from a political point of view, and Lieutenant Blair behaved with a judicious firmness and ability which might well have been imitated in the earlier days of the present Settlement. His sick and death-rate were low, the colony was flourishing, and he established, with the least possible trouble and bloodshed, friendly relations with the aborigines. His whole administration in the Andamans points to his being a man of first-rate ability and exceptional gifts.

The Government were, however, unable to let well alone, and a change was made in 1792, from which dates the downfall of the colony.

On the 13th April, 1790, Lieutenant Blair reported that North-East Harbour (now known as Port Cornwallis) was "deserving the attention of the Governor-General." In November of the same year this new harbour was visited by Commodore Cornwallis, who formed a very favourable opinion of it, and directed Lieutenant Blair to make a particular survey of it.

This was executed during March, 1791, and on receipt of it the Commodore thus wrote to his brother the Governor-General:—

"I think North-East Harbour vastly superior for a fleet of Men-of-war to Port Cornwallis; the latter, I consider, too confined and liable to accidents, as well as being more subject—from being surrounded with high hills—to sudden and violent squalls. They are alike in respect to fresh water, the runs being occasioned by the rains, and in regard to defence. The Island is not near a gunshot from the

farthest shore, which I tried by throwing shot across when working out. And though the Island is small, there is a great deal dry at the lowest tides.—I should apprehend, full sufficient for batteries."

He further recommended the removal of the colony from Chatham Island, in the Southern Harbour, to this Harbour, and offered to assist in the operations. The squalls from off Saddle Peak are fairly violent in the Northern Harbour, and the latter part of the letter is not understood. The "Island" he refers to must be the one called "Ross" at the mouth of the Harbour.

In September, 1791, Lieutenant Blair was informed that it was the intention of Government to move the Settlement to the North-East Harbour, and although this move did not actually take place for more than a year afterwards, all progress was at once stopped.

On the 16th October, 1792, final orders were given for the removal of the Settlement, and on the 5th November, 1792, the Governor-General recorded a Minute on the subject, detailing the method of the transfer, and the object of the new Settlement. The original intention was to establish a naval arsenal, in accordance with the recommendation of the Commodore. Captain Alexander Kyd of the Engineers was nominated Superintendent, to be assisted by a Subaltern of the same Corps, and the garrison were to be one or two companies of sepoys. The necessary buildings and fortifications were to be erected; four vessels were to be fitted out for the conveyance of artificers' stores, etc.; and the whole was to be under the orders of Lieutenant Blair until he was relieved by Captain Kyd. The Governor-General and his Council at the same time expressed satisfaction at Lieutenant Blair's conduct, and said that "his attention and abilities in the management of our first Settlement at the Andamans claim our warm approbation."

He was granted, on the 5th November, 1792, an allowance of R150 per month, in addition to his surveyor's allowance, for the time he was in charge of the Settlement. Captain Kyd had R1,000 a month in addition to the pay and allowances of his rank.

Lieutenant Blair, who was in Calcutta, where he had taken two of the Andamanese, had the four vessels placed under his orders, and

on the 12th November received his sailing orders. It was then directed that the new Settlement should also be called Port Cornwallis, and Lieutenant Blair was to found it in exactly the same manner as the old one. He was to clear Chatham Island, erect temporary buildings for the protection of provisions, lay out a garden, dig a well, etc. The Commodore would shortly arrive with some King's ships to assist. On the arrival of Captain Kyd the Settlement was to be transferred to him, and Lieutenant Blair was to finish the survey of the Andamans, "if time would admit," and ascertain the relative positions of the Southern Nicobar Island with Atcheen. The Andamanese taken by Lieutenant Blair to Calcutta were probably Jàrawas, and this incident gives another proof of the friendly relations established with them by him. It is most unfortunate that we have no detailed account of these people by Lieutenant Blair.

The following papers throw some light on the reasons of the Government for moving the Settlement from the South to the North Harbour, and on the subsequent operations in the latter place.

Extract from the *Madras Courier* of the 22nd December, 1790 :—

Yesterday evening His Majesty's Sloop-of-war, *Atalanta*, Captain Halsted, arrived in the roads from the Andamans.

The Hon'ble Commodore Cornwallis was at the Andamans on board the *Crown* when the *Atalanta* came away ; and it appears by the accounts she has brought, that a new harbour had been discovered in one of the small islands to the North-East, extremely capacious and commodious, much more so than even the former one, which has been hitherto occupied and known by the name of Port Cornwallis.

The name, therefore, will probably be now transferred where it is best deserved, and the new harbour established.

(Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 13th January, 1791, by Seton Karr. Vol. II, page 283.)

The excellence of the harbour and climate, with the docility of the inhabitants and fertility of the soil, has induced Commodore Cornwallis to recommend that fortifications be erected and a garrison appointed at our new Settlement on the Andaman Islands; should

this be put in execution, it will no doubt hereafter be the Company's principal maritime rendezvous in the Bay of Bengal.

The *Viper* Cruiser, Captain Roper, is, we understand, to sail in a few days with despatches for the Commodore at that place.

(Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 18th of October, 1792, by Seton Karr. Vol. II, page 354.)

The above is the only intimation we have that the Aborigines in the North Andaman had proved to be less hostile than those in the South.

The 29th May, 1794.

Military Intelligence, *May 19th, 1794.*

Lieutenant Sandys, Fort Adjutant, is appointed to superintend and execute in Bengal the duties connected with the Andaman Islands, in supplying the artificers and workmen required from time to time, taking charge of the workmen and Sepoys returning from thence on leave of absence, or for the benefit of their health, providing passage, and superintending their embarkation on their return thither, and paying the families of settlers residing in Bengal the portion of allowance allotted to them for subsistence; also superintending the embarkation of the convicts sentenced to be transported to those Islands, the provisions and articles of supply for the Settlement to be furnished as heretofore on indent on the Garrison Store-keeper.

The Governor-General in Council, in consideration of these additional duties, and for other reasons, has been pleased to increase the allowance of the Fort Adjutant, 150 Sonat Rupees per month, to commence from the 1st of May.

(Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette*, by Seton Karr. Vol. III, page 117.)

Lieutenant Blair left Calcutta in the *Union*, with the *Juno*, *Cornwallis*, and *Seahorse*, on the 4th December, 1792. He had artificers' stores, six months' provisions, and 360 settlers.

Off Cape Negrais there was violent storm, in which the ships parted company. The *Union* arrived at the new Settlement on the 30th December and found Lieutenant Wales there in the

Ranger. He had already commenced to clear sites and make a watering place. Commodore Cornwallis put in in the *Minerva* to take shelter from a gale, in which the *Ranger* in 4½ fathoms at the head of the harbour had the sea breaking over her, and after losing an anchor, was driven on to a mud bank with only seven feet of water, though she drew 14 feet. The *Union* lost two anchors and was driven on to the same bank, and the *Minerva* lost an anchor. It appears to have been a cyclone, the centre of which passed a little to the south of Port Cornwallis, as, at Port Blair, Lieutenant Roper in the *Viper*, who was making the last arrangements for the removal of the old colony, only experienced a strong south-west wind, while the *Seahorse* and *Cornwallis*, only 160 miles from the Settlement, had fine weather.

The *Juno* is supposed to have been exposed to the full force of the cyclone, as some vessel fired a gun off the mouth of the harbour at night, which was answered, and the vessel stood out again to sea.

The *Juno* was never heard of again, and is supposed to have foundered. Besides her crew, there were 90 settlers, and a large quantity of provisions on board.

The work of the new colony progressed rapidly. On the 31st December, Lieutenant Blair reported that a space 600 by 100 yards had been cleared on Chatham Island. A double line of huts had been built, wells and tanks made, three bungalows erected, a smithy and pottery kiln were in course of erection, also a temporary store-house. Two acres had been cleared and stocked (on Pitt Island) as a kitchen-garden and nursery. The Settlement fishermen procured sufficient fish, turtle were brought from Diamond Island, and cocoa-nuts from the Cocos. The natives were occasionally seen on the reefs, but were neither hostile nor inclined for closer intimacy.

When the present Settlement experienced the cyclone of November 2nd, 1891, great surprise was exhibited, as it was supposed that the Andamans only *formed* the cyclones, and were out of the reach of their violence. A glance at the records would have shown that these Islands are visited at intervals by most destructive storms.

(The above-mentioned one, occurring at the very commencement of the Settlement in the Northern Port Cornwallis, would seem ominous of the disastrous effect of the change from the Southern Harbour.)

It seems curious to us now that turtle should have been brought to the Andamans from Diamond Island, but the turtle are caught there on shore, by "turning," and in the Andamans, except on the South Sentinel Island, where landing is impossible ten months out of the year, this can seldom be done, as the turtle appear to have learnt to avoid the aborigines who molested them. Turtle could, however, have been obtained at the Coco Islands.

The healthy dry season was chosen for the opening of the new Settlement, and therefore the sick-rate at first was not noticeable.

Captain Kyd arrived in the Settlement on the 5th March, and up to that time the settlers, with the exception of jungle sores, aggravated by scurvy, were healthy. He wrote in a most sanguine manner about the future of the Settlement, and more artificers and labourers were applied for, also 200 convicts. The vessels attached to the Settlement were employed in bringing turtle from Diamond Island, rice and live-stock from Achin and the coast of Pedi, and cocoa-nuts from Car Nicobar.

Fruit trees were imported from the neighbouring continent and Sumatra. Building and clearing went on apace, a cocoa-nut plantation was formed, a granary erected, and cover for the whole Settlement provided before the commencement of the rains. 113 sepoys and settlers were sent from Calcutta to reinforce the Settlement early in May, 1793, and 72 labourers were sent at the end of the same month.

About this time Lieutenant Blair returned to Bombay, with a highly recommendatory letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Governor of Bombay. He had previously submitted a general chart of the Andamans and a full report on the subject, with a tabular statement of astronomical observations, which are to be found in the proceedings of the Council of the 31st May, 1793. He does not consider the chart complete on account of the abrupt inequalities in

the depths, which may have led him to overlook certain hidden dangers. He comments on the edible birds' nest caves, noting the one at the south end of Strait Island, which seems to have then contained more nests than it does now. (The birds are certainly not building as freely in the Islands as they used to, or we have not discovered their new nests, they having deserted the old places.) He thought the nests were made of a mineral substance which exuded from the rock.

On the 13th June, 1793, news arrived at the Settlement of the war with France, and Major Kyd had at once to place it in a state of defence. Fresh labourers from Bengal arrived. A hill on Chatham Island was chosen as the site of a fort, as the back was protected by the jungle and the front commanded the Settlement. The North front was to have two demi-bastions with a gun in each, and on the North and East fronts good ditches, and a parapet 14 feet high. The approach was to be protected by abattis and felled timber. The vessels were to be placed under the protection of the fort, and a refuge made for the women and children. Major Kyd made these arrangements and then went to Calcutta to procure armament, reinforcements, and supplies, leaving the other officers to carry out the work. He applied for six 12-pounder guns, on garrison carriages, and two brass 6-pounders, and wished to have the sepoy detachment increased to two full companies, a detachment of European Artillery to be ordered in readiness, and more labourers. He advised the arming of the vessels attached to the Settlement, and wished to give them a proportion of European seamen. The commanders of these vessels were granted commissions by the Governor-General, corresponding to those issued to the commanders of country ships, since the beginning of the war.

Major Kyd's recommendations met with the entire approval of the Government, but the reinforcements were not despatched till the end of the year.

He, at this time, took an Andamanese servant with him to Calcutta, who was presumably a man of the North Andaman Group of Tribes, nd, as we know from the records that friendly relations were not

then established with the people round Port Cornwallis, the savage must have been in a state of semi-captivity.

During Major Kyd's absence Major Michael Symes touched at Port Cornwallis *en route* to Ava, where he had been sent on an embassy. His account of the Andamans is given below.

On the 14th May, 1794, the Council of the Governor-General reported that "the situation of Port Cornwallis has of late proved very unfavourable to the health of the settlers, but we entertain hopes that the place will become more salubrious in proportion as it is cleared."

In April, 1794, the Government sent five European convicts to Port Cornwallis, but the Superintendent declined to receive them, and they were returned to Bombay. The Governor-General approved of this, and directed that no Europeans should be transported.

On the 22nd November, 1794, 50 more native convicts arrived from Bengal. Fifty deaths occurred during the rains of 1795.

The following is the Minute of the Board, dated the 8th February, 1796, abolishing the Settlement at Port Cornwallis:—

"Considering the great sickness and mortality of the Settlement formed at the Andamans, which, it is feared, is likely to continue, and the great expense and embarrassment to Government in maintaining it, and in conveying to it supplies at the present period, it appears to the Governor-General in Council, both with a view to humanity and economy, prudent to withdraw it. He observes that if, at the termination of the present war, it should be thought expedient to carry on the plan with vigour, it could be renewed with very little disadvantage, no permanent or valuable buildings having yet been erected, and there being few stores of value to remove. The expediency of withdrawing the Settlement admitted, no time should be lost, so that it may be done before the change of the monsoon. The Board further observes that if it could be conceived that this temporary removal from the Andamans could invalidate our claim to those Islands, were any foreign nation in the meantime to settle there (a circumstance, however, which is highly improbable), the objection may be obviated by keeping a small vessel at Port Cornwallis, to be relieved every

six months. Resolved, therefore, that the Marine Board be instructed to take immediate measures for the removal of the convicts to Prince of Wales's Island, and for bringing back the stores and settlers to Bengal; that they be further instructed to make provision for keeping a small vessel at Port Cornwallis, to be relieved every six months."

This Minute was recorded in consequence of reports received from the Andamans; the death of Mr. Surgeon Reddich; of Lieutenant Ramsay having left for Penang on account of extreme ill-health; that the Settlement continued so unhealthy, there being no fewer than fifty deaths during the last rains; and that every one was anxious to leave, being depressed by sickness and the climate, in spite of all that could be done for them.

The Settlement at this time contained 270 convicts and 550 free men, women, and children, including the European artillery and the sepoy guard. The convicts, with the provisions and stores, were sent to Penang, the colonists with their property were brought back to Bengal, and the Settlement was finally abandoned in May, 1796.

It does not appear that any small vessel was kept at Port Cornwallis, as proposed.

Major Kyd's remarks on the climate show that it was the same then as it is now.

No surprise can be felt at this disastrous end to our first Settlement on the Andamans. Lieutenant Blair's success in the Southern Harbour had naturally led the Government to conclude that the other harbours would be equally healthy and well suited for settling in. It was unfortunate that Commodore Cornwallis, who was the brother of the Governor-General, should have been so much taken with the present Port Cornwallis (though he, of course, regarded it from a strategical point of view only), as his word carried great weight, and caused the moving of the Settlement to the Northern Harbour on the 12th November, 1792. Port Cornwallis is, perhaps, the most unhealthy spot in the whole of the Andaman Islands, and was wisely avoided by Dr. Mouat and his party when they had to decide on the best spot for establishing the present Settlement.

The following remarks by Major Kyd, on the Andamanese, have been extracted from his Reports to the Government, now only to be found in the India Office, and are here published :—

"Lieutenant Blair having brought here two natives of the Andaman Islands, I thought an attempt to convey a sketch of their persons and manners, as far as known, might not prove unacceptable, at the period of their falling to be ranged among the new acquired subjects of the East Indian Company.

"On a first view of the configuration of the elder of the two, whom Lieutenant Blair conceives to have attained the state of manhood, and may be considered not much differing from the mean standard, they probably fall to be ranged next to the Laplanders, amongst the lowest in stature of the human race, the elder being only 4 feet, 7 inches in height, the other 4 feet, 2 inches. The head, body, and limbs, appear bulky, fleshy, and unmuscular, the legs excepted, which appear thin, gummy, and disproportioned to the superstructure, exhibiting while walking, less bone, or muscular action than generally seen.

"In their features and complexion they approach the dark, oily-coloured Coffree. The pupil of the eye is remarkably round and prominent, the nose and lips not quite so depressed—Hair of the eyebrows faintly defined—The head covered with short, woolly hair. In this subject the chin is beardless, with short, depressed neck, dark black complexion, and the offensive effluvia characteristic of the Guinea Negro. (The Andamanese have not the Negro smell. —*M. V. P.*)

"But I understand there is a great diversity in their features, the European lip and aquiline nose being seen, but in all the head is covered with woolly hair, and dark complexion, indicating the possibility of their originating from different tribes of the Coffree nation; if not the probability of different dialects, a supposition in some degree accounting for the enmity observed amongst the inhabitant of different parts of the coast. From what has been collected respecting their manners, they fall to be ranked amongst the lowest yet discovered on the scale of civilisation—in a word—Man in the rudest state of nature (?).

Living in the mildest climate under the canopy of heaven they appear strangers to the wants entailed by the ruder seasons or social compacts, and to experience no other than that of food in its most primitive and crude state, and the instruments for providing it, Bow and Arrow, and Fishing-nets. Ignorant in the arts of husbandry and cultivation, they derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of the earth; the fishy race frequenting their shores; and the land animals of which the hog, guana, rat, lizard, and monkey, (No.—*M. V. P.*) have yet only been discovered; and from the prints of footsteps on the shores, the further probability of the existence of the porcupine only suspected. (None.—*M. V. P.*)

"The use of clothing is totally rejected by the men, something approaching the description of the fig-leaf having only been seen among a few of the women.

"On unaccustomed food being presented them they recur chiefly to the organ of smelling for decision on the adoption or rejection, generally showing an aversion to all acid fruits and aliment, such as butter-milk or seasoned food.

"It is astonishing to see the strength and exertions performed with their teeth, standing in the stead of many of the artificial instruments of mechanism recurred to by man in a civilised state. They extract nourishment from the root of a species of the Nicobar bread-fruit tree, by expression with their teeth, converting the fibrous part into a substitute for fat. (This is not known to the Andamanese with whom we are now on friendly terms, and must be a peculiarity of the Jàrawa tribe only.—*M. V. P.*)

"The taste of this root, on trial, was found to resemble the filbert, but its application to either purpose overlooked by the Bengalese. (*sic*).

"In drinking they apply their mouths to the surface of the liquid and sip at intervals.

"Fire is used in a slight preparation of their food on a kind of grid of bamboo (this grid is for keeping the cooked food on, not for cooking it.—*M. V. P.*) and in striking fish during the night.

"Their habitations are composed of rudely compacted branches of trees, scarcely coming under the description of huts.

"In the morning they rub their skins with mud, or wallow in it, like the buffalo (Never.—*M. V. P.*), to prevent the annoyance of insects, daubing their hair either with red ochre or cinnabar. (With red ochre among the Öngé Group of Tribes only. Cinnabar is not found.—*M. V. P.*)

"Those in the vicinage of Port Cornwallis (the Settlement in the South Andaman, now known as Port Blair, is here referred to —*M. V. P.*), since they have dropped their apprehensions of hostility or invasion of their shores by the settlers, have only apparently been impelled to any intercourse from the occasional pressure of hunger.

"Of our aliments, the cocoa-nut, and oily or greasy animal food, proved the most acceptable, they rejecting sugar, salt, spirits, wine, or clothes, and everything else which we conceive conducive to health or security against the inclemency of the weather—iron nails and instruments alone being coveted.

"Under all this degrading situation, if judgment may be formed from an observance of the behaviour of the present subjects (making even due allowance for the influence of the change of situation and novelty of the surrounding objects), they appear remarkably cheerful; displaying much colloquial vivacity in their discourse; widely different from the frigidity of disposition attributed to the American Indians, apparently implying a greater share of intellectual sprightliness than might be expected from a subject endowed with the obtuse and untutored organs, falling to the share of man in so rude a state.

(The Andamanese are anything but "obtuse."—*M. V. P.*)

"As far as judgment can be formed, under the apparent rapidity of their pronunciation, their dialect appears rather smooth, not guttural, although some of their words are not easily articulated.

"Dancing and singing are the only convivial amusements yet perceived amongst them, and in which the women equally participate, but bear the greatest part of the drudgery in collecting food, repairing to the reefs at the recess of the tide, collecting shell-fish, while the men are employed in striking fish with the bow and arrow.

"That they are jealous of the women has been inferred from the only loss sustained in a boat's crew after having been in habits of communication, originating, it has been suspected, in our people having attempted to debauch, if not offer violence, to some of them.

"In singing, their melodies are in the nature of recitative and chorus, not unpleasing; the last note ending in the octave above the key. (This is incorrect.—*M. V. P.*)

"In dancing, they may be said to have improved on the strange republican dance asserted by Voltaire to have been exhibited in England.

"Ou dançant à la ronde, chacun donne des coups de pieds à son voisin, et en reçoit de même."

"The Andamanese likewise dance in a round, each alternately kicking and slapping *his own breech* only, *ad libitum*.

"(This is a rather incorrect description of a species of dance in vogue among the Öngé Group of Tribes only.—*M. V. P.*)

"Further, they express contempt by exhibiting their posteriors, (this is principally among the North Andaman Group of Tribes.—*M. V. P.*), and brandishing a certain member. (Never.—*M. V. P.*)

"How far these may deserve being ushered to notice in the Western world, as more congenial to the manners of man in a state of indisputable independence, during the present ferment of liberty than the processes now in use, *à la lanterne*, amongst the over zealous votaries of the Goddess, the Governor-General in Council may determine."

"The food recurred to by them chiefly consists of shellfish, of which the oyster (No.—*M. V. P.*), mussel, clam, limpet, and periwinkle constitute the principal. Of the fishing utensils the bow and arrow is principally recurred to, with which they strike fish with great address. They also use large and small nets for catching turtle and small fish.

"Their embarkations are of the rudest kind, consisting of the trunk of a tree, partly hollowed out by fire (Never—*M. V. P.*), and instruments of stone (No.—*M. V. P.*), or rafts of bamboo.

"In the social compact, it appears that they have made no advance; a few families uniting and occupying particular parts of the

shores, amongst whom, it has been observed, hostilities and discord prevail.

"Shields (Dancing-boards, which resemble Crusaders' Shields.—*M. V. P.*) and weapons of annoyance having been also seen among them, with a mutual interdiction of communication between the respective districts; but there is no foundation yet discovered for considering them cannibals, notwithstanding they have been unequivocally handed down from the remotest antiquity under this character."

Extract.—Voyage de Gaul Schouten aux Indes Orientales, October, 1669.

"Les Isles de Nicobar dans la mer de Bengale, qui y gissent au Sud, et celles des Andamans qui y gissent au Nord, sont des lieux dont on n'a la vué qu'en passant, n'y aiant aucune espérance de profit à la visiter.

"Il est fort dangereux de s'en approcher et d'y terrir, parceque, pour peu qu'il fasse de brume ou de gros tems, on court risque de donner contre des bancs, ou d'aller se briser contre le rivage. D'ailleurs quand on a eu ce malheur, ceux qui croient s'être sauvez des gens sauvages et brutaux, qui, plus impitoiables que les ordres ne les epargnant pas.

Ils sont d'une fort grande taille, telle qu'on si figure celle des petits giants. Ce n'est pas pour les Chrétiens seuls qu'ils ont de l'inhumanite, c'est pour tous les autres hommes du monde. Tous ceux qui aiant fait naufrage sur leurs côtes se sauvant sur le rivage, y' sont aussitôt attaquez, environnez, massacrez, et mangez par ces barbares antropophages.

"L'année precedente, que les vaisseaux *Wasp* et *Brower-shaven* allerent à Bengale, ils s'approcherent trop de la plus méridionale des Isles des Andamans. Il faisoit du gros tems et de la brume, si bien que par une nuit fort obscure le *Wasp* echoüa et perit. La plus grande partie de l'equipage aiant nagé jusqu'à terre, se vit attaquée par ces grands hommes sauvages armez des fléches, d'arcs, de frondes et d'assuagies empoisonnees, qui faisent des cris éffraians. Une partie de ces malheureux Hollandois se sauva dans les bois; mis les autres furent tuez et mangez dans un festin.

"Jacques Heinse Moocker, Capitaine de Vaisseau avec qui j'avois navigué deux ans à Amboine, à Buco, à Ceram, à Galor, à Macassar, et à Aracan, fut à soixante ans un de ceux qui leur servirent de curée. Il etoit alors Capitaine du *Browershaven*, et comme il vit le naufrage de sa conserve, il s'en alla, non obstant le gros tems, jetter l'ancre de long de l'isle, et aiant fait armer sa chaloupe, il descendit à terre, et delivra courageusement le Capitaine et avec lui ceux qui vivoient encore de l'equipage du vaisseau péri, qui sortirent des broussailles, ou ils avoient cru devoir bientot expirer.

"Mais le généreux Moocker, on escarmonchant contre les sauvages, fut étendre mort d'un coup de flêche qui le parça et par un échange bien fatal pour lui, il leur demeura en proie, pendant l'autre Capitaine, qu'il avoit sauvé, aller rempli sa place."

Extract from Ritchie's Survey of the Andaman Islands, January, 1771.

"It is generally believed in this country that they are cannibals and eat one another, or at least eat those of their enemies whom they took or kill in battle. How far this is true I know not—certain it is that nothing in the human shape can have a more wild appearance either in person or manners."

(The records of this Surveyor, which would be of great interest, as he is said by Lieutenant Blair to have been on friendly terms with the Andamanese, cannot now be found.—*M. V. P.*)

"The Andaman Islands, being clearly designed in Ptolemy's map under the title of Fortunate, while the adjoining cluster of Nicobar Islands are termed in the same geographical tract "Anthropophagi" (a mistake, the Preparis Islands were "*Fortunatæ*," and the Andamans "*Anthropophagi*".—*M. V. P.*), the latter now inhabited by a class of natives, not less discriminated from the others in their external configuration, than by pacific civilised manners, living under the most patriarchal primitive contract, and as far as appears never held any intercourse with the Andamanese although often attacked by the piratical Achenese cruisers, a remark confirmed from the imperfect construction of the embarkations in use amongst both,

being unsuited to traverse the distance by which they are separated. (The Nicobar canoe is very different from, and much superior to, the Andamanese canoe.—*M. V. P.*)

"The uncommon form of the Bow used by the natives of the Andamans, from the unlikelihood of its occurring to such an uncivilised race, is the only utensil among them, together with some specimens of pottery ware, inferring that they might have obtained them from some accidental communication with the continent; and further, suggests the probability of these islands having been peopled by the shipwreck of a vessel conveying Coffree slaves from the shore of Africa, for some part of India, before the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese, as handed down by general tradition here; than the supposition of their proving indigenous, however countenanced by some late relations of the coast of New Guinea being peopled by a similar race.

"Of their language so little has been collected, from the difficulty of communication, and the freedom from restraint observed towards such of them as visited the Settlement, that the imperfect vocabulary hereunto annexed (Lieutenant Colebrooke's, already given.—*M. V. P.*), if rendered to the present Crichton of the age (however accustomed to trace the affinity of any languages, and the migration of the antient races of mankind) might probably prove a most difficult task.

"If ever referred to Sir William Jones, it may not be improper to observe that this vocabulary has been compiled by a North Briton, and the Orthography corresponding with the Scotch pronunciation.

"The precipitous rocks and cavernous recesses composing part of the coast give shelter to the birds forming the edible birds' nests, an article of commerce in the China market. Mr. Blair is of opinion that the nest is formed from a kind of glutinous matter found exuding from the crevices of particular caverns where these birds during nidification are observed to resort. This gluten at a subsequent period undergoing a further decomposition by a petrifactive process.

"Whether this bird migrates has not been ascertained. The period of their incubation takes place in December and continues till May. Not more than two small, white, spotless eggs have been found in their nests; it has been further supposed that they breed monthly.

"Off these Islands, the shore in some places are strewed with coral rocks, and where not rocky are generally lined with the mangrove, prickly fern, a species of wild rattan, and other shrubs coming under the description of the *Mimosa Asperata*. The interior is covered with a thick but generally accessible forest, darkened by the intermixture of creeper and parasite plants, of which, further than the underwritten list, the different species have not been ascertained.

Nutmeg.—Two species, apparently both of the uncultivated kind described in Rumph's collections.

Plaas.—On which the Muggadooty silkworm feeds. Collected from the circumstance of the Bows of the Andamanese being made from the wood of this tree.

Cutch.—Affording the extract forming the *Terra Japonica*.

Boddam.

Mango.—(Painted.) Known here under the name of the Sunderbund, or wild Mango.

Coconut.—Very few.

Mangostien.

Rumboostien.

Ebony.

Dammar Tree.

Wood Oil Tree.

Cotton Tree.

Timber Trees.

Poon.—(Red.) Fit for masts of great size.

Soondry.

One resembling the Sattin wood.

Red Wood Tree.—Affording timber and planks of vast size.

Boddam.— Ditto. ditto.

A tree resembling the walnut in its quality.
Nicobar Bread Fruit, termed *Mellori*.
Alexandrian Laurel.
Bamboo, of a bad quality.
Poplar.

And two or three fruit trees of which two imperfect specimens or descriptions have been obtained to ascertain their nature.

"Memorandum by the Officer of Engineers who brought the *Mellori* from the Nicobar Islands, in the year 1787, to Bengal

"From the description of the Bread Fruit Tree, lately given in Lieutenant Blyth's Voyage to the South Sea Islands, it certainly differs little from the species found on the Island of Sumatra and the Malabar coast, which as an aliment is so far inferior to the *Mellori* of the Nicobars as not to bear comparison. Indeed, I know of no potato, parsnip, or any kind of farinaceous vegetable that is equal to it, and if it proves that the tree affords in abundance, and like the coconut and plantain at all times of the year, I know of no country where it would not be a present. On the Malabar Coast the Bread Fruit is propagated from the root, which I observe also is done in the Society Islands. Subsequent experience has also shown in the Company's Garden, that it may be propagated with superior facility by layers taken off by the Chinese process. The *Mellori* is easily propagated from radical suckers or slips and are now multiplying fast in the Company's Garden."

(The Bread Fruit Tree of the South Sea Islands is *Artocarpus incisa*, a very different tree from *Pandanus Mellori*, the Bread Fruit Tree of the Nicobars, which is a Screw Pine. The bread which is made from the pulp of the latter by the Nicobarese might be a surprise to the inhabitant of any civilised country, but scarcely a very welcome present.—*M. V. P.*)

"The soil of the Andamans, from the partial, if not solitary trial which has been made, is equal to raising the various productions of Bengal, conjointly with those of the more eastern parts of the Malay Peninsula.

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"The interior part of the Island rises to a considerable height. The mountain termed "The Saddle" by Navigators being seen at the distance of 25 leagues at sea. (No. 20 leagues.—*M. V. P.*)

"Intersected by various ridges of mountains, but their direction or component strata unascertained, further than that some of the lower ranges bordering the coast exhibit blue schistous strata at their bases, with Breccia or Pudding-stone.

"Of the minerals little or no information has been obtained further than that some species of white clay with red ochre, if not cinnabar, are to be found.

"Of the feathered race a species of humming-bird, parrots, with one or two more have only been discriminated as differing from those common in Bengal which they equally possess.

"Of Insects.—The Honey-bee.

"Of the Reptiles.—The Green snake (held amongst the most dangerous by the native of Bengal), has been seen in the woods, the centipede of ten inches long, and the scorpion.

"Of the population of these Islands but an imperfect estimate can be formed, further than it is by no means corresponding with the extent of the soil, and from the natives falling to be ranged under the class *Ichthyophagi*. Conjecture has been strengthened, as far as the Island has been explored, that the population is principally confined to the shores, and proportionately greater or less as they afford the resources of sustenance. The whole is computed not to exceed 3,000 or 4,000.

(Most of Major Kyd's remarks are derived from Lieutenant Colebrooke, who only wrote of the Jàrawas in the South Andaman. Major Kyd applies these remarks to the Cháriár tribe of the North Andaman, and adds others from personal observation, though most of the above would appear to have been written before he established the Settlement in Port Cornwallis, North Andaman. After writing it he took two Andamanese with him to Calcutta, and appeared to have established slightly friendly relations with some of the Cháriárs, but no further record of his doings is to be found.—*M. V. P.*)

In the *Calcutta Monthly Register*, or *India Respository* for November, 1790, pp. 15—17, are, among others, the following remarks:—

The writer gives details about the appearance of the Andaman Islands which agree with the facts at present known, and also enlarges on their healthiness. He mentions the Andamanese as a strong, robust set of Coffrees, much resembling in appearance and mode of living what Cooke describes to us of the inhabitants of the South-West part of New Zealand. He notes that they never use hooks and lines for catching fish, and from this argues a want of intelligence in the people.

He considers fish their staple diet, and adds that when that fails them they roam in the woods in the quest of wild hogs and rats, which are by no means plenty, and only a *dernier ressort*, when the people are much pressed by hunger. They are supposed to be the descendants of slaves wrecked on the coast of the Andamans, from Portuguese ships, when the Portuguese had a Settlement at Pegu; and they are very shy and hostile.

I have not been able to ascertain the name of the writer of the above, but it is evidently a "reporter's account," gathered from some person who had visited the Southern Settlement at that time. I am not aware that Captain Cooke describes any of the inhabitants of New Zealand as Negritos, but the suggestion, probably made in all good faith and ignorance then, is of interest now, when we have reason to think that the race who inhabited New Zealand before the advent of the Maories were Negritos allied to the Tasmanians and Andamanese.

It will be seen that the fact of the Andamanese not using hooks and lines to catch fish had at last been noted, but the writer was wrong in supposing that the wild pigs were not a staple food of the Andamanese. The idea of the aborigines being descendants of ship-wrecked slaves seems to have been a favourite one in the last century.

The following account of the Andamans was written by Major Michael Symes, who was only in Port Cornwallis for a few days in 1794, when on his way to Burma, and who must have derived his

information from the resident officials of the Settlement. They had only been moved to Port Cornwallis a short time before and knew little of the aborigines there. The description of them is taken from their knowledge of the Jàrawa tribes, which was acquired in the Southern Harbour.

Major Michael Symes, "Embassy to Ava." Chapter I.

"At eleven o'clock on the 5th of March, we hauled our wind and stood into Port Cornwallis, on the East coast of the North Andaman Island, and at one, our ship came to an anchor, a quarter of a mile from the shore. On landing we were received by Captains Ramsay and Stokoe, (Colonel Kyd, the Governor, being absent), with the kindest hospitality, which was equally extended to the captain and officers of the ship, and continued to every individual belonging to the mission, during the time that we remained their guests.

"The Settlement in Port Cornwallis is not situated on the principal island, but on a smaller one within the harbour, named by the English, Chatham Island; the utmost length of which does not exceed two miles, and the breadth little more than half a mile: the southern extremity terminates in a narrow neck of land, fordable at low water to the main.

"The Andaman Islands are a continuation of the Archipelago that extends from Cape Negrais to Atchein Head, stretching from 10° 32′ to 13° 40′ north latitude, and from 90° 6′ to 92° 59′ east longitude. What has been considered as the Great Andaman, is the most northern, about one hundred and forty miles in length, and not exceeding twenty broad. A separation, or strait, however, has lately, owing to a fatal accident,* been discovered in this island, which, in fact

* In the month of February, 1792, a vessel was freighted from Madras to carry stores to His Majesty's fleet at Andaman; the master being unacquainted with the harbour, sent a small boat in the afternoon to explore an opening in the land, that appeared like the entrance; the boat stood in, it fell dark, and she was swept, by a rapid current, through a channel that divided the main island and opened into the Bay of Bengal. The north-east monsoon prevailed with great violence: unable to work against stream and wind, the boat was borne to leeward, and driven irresistibly into the Indian Ocean. Eighteen day afterwards she was picked up by a French ship near the equinoctial line. The crew consisted of two Europeans and six lascars; and, shocking to relate, when relieved by the French ship, three of the lascars had been killed and eaten by their companions.

divides it into two, and opens a clear passage into the Bay of Bengal. The first settlement of the English was made in the year 1791, near the southern extremity of the island, in a bay on the east side; but it was afterwards removed in 1793, by advice of Admiral Cornwallis, to the place where it is now established. The original object of the undertaking was to procure a commodious harbour on the east side of the Bay, to receive and shelter His Majesty's ships-of-war, during the continuance of the north-east monsoon; it was also used as a place of reception for convicts, sentenced for transportation from Bengal.

"No writer of antiquity has transmitted a distinct account of the Andamans; they were included by Ptolemy, together with the Nicobars and lesser islands, in the general appellation of *Insulæ bonæ Fortunæ*, and supposed by him to be inhabited by a race of Anthropophagi.* The mild inoffensive Nicobarians have long since been acquitted of the horrid imputation; but the different form, disposition, and habits of the few wretched savages who wander on the shores of the Andamans, may have given ground for a supposition that human flesh has been eaten by them; if so, it probably arose more from the impulse of excessive hunger, than from voluntary choice; a conclusion that well authenticated instances of the distress they at times endure appear to authorize.

"In the evening we walked round the grounds that had been cleared, making a circuit of little more than a quarter of a mile, partly along the beach, and partly by a path leading through heaps of brushwood, and the trunks of huge trees that had been recently felled. A small garden, diligently tilled, produced but a scanty crop of Indian vegetables. A shallow soil, impregnated with leaves and decayed brushwood, washed down by the mountain streams, proved at first unfavourable to cultivation; the pains, however,

* Eusebius Renaudot, in his translation of the account given by two Mahomedan travellers, who journeyed eastward, in the ninth century, says: "beyond these two islands (probably the Nicobars) lies the sea of Andaman. The people on this coast eat human flesh quite raw; their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful, their feet are very large, almost a cubit, and they go quite naked."

which had been bestowed, seemed likely in the end to overcome this discouragement. The situation of the Settlement on the side of a hill rising abruptly from the verge of the sea, although calculated to avoid the unwholesome effects of stagnant waters, was yet at times attended with great inconvenience, owing to the impetuosity of the torrents.

"Notwithstanding the colony had been established on its present site little more than sixteen months, the habitations of the commandant and officers, and the huts of the inferior classes, were rendered extremely comfortable. The first constructed of stone and planks, the latter of mats and clay, thatched with leaves of the rattan, or covered with boards. The surgeon had a separate dwelling assigned to him, and there was likewise a commodious mess-room. The number of inhabitants altogether was about 700, including a company of sepoys as a guard over the convicts, and a defence to the Settlement.

"A situation more picturesque, or a view more romantic, than that which Chatham Island and Cornwallis Harbour present, can scarcely be imagined: land-locked on all sides, nothing is to be seen but an extensive sheet of water, resembling a vast lake, interspersed with small islands, and environed by lofty mountains clothed with impenetrable forests. The scenery of nature, in this sequestered spot, is uncommonly striking and grand.

"All that voyagers have related of uncivilised life seems to fall short of the barbarism of the people of Andaman. The ferocious natives of New Zealand, or the shivering, half-animated savages of Terra del Fuego, are in a relative state of refinement compared to these islanders.*

"The population of the Great Andaman, and all its dependencies, does not, according to Captain Stokoe, exceed 2,000 or 2,500 souls;

* Mr. Marsden, in his excellent History of the island of Sumatra, is of opinion, that the inhabitants of the Batta country, in the northern part of that island, eat human flesh; and the authorities on which he grounds his belief seem to authenticate the fact; it does not, however, appear, that human flesh was substituted by them in place of ordinary food, but eaten rather as a barbarous ceremony, to indicate revenge on their enemies, or abhorrence of crimes, the only victims being prisoners taken in war, or capital convicts.

these are dispersed in small societies along the coasts, or on the lesser islands within the harbour, never penetrating deeper than the skirts of the forests, which hold out little inducement for them to enter, as they contain no animals to supply them with food. Their sole occupation seems to be that of climbing rocks, or roving along the margin of the sea in quest of a precarious meal of fish, which during the tempestuous season they often seek for in vain.

"The Andamaners are not more favoured in the conformation of their bodies than in the endowments of their mind. In stature they seldom exceed five feet; their limbs are disproportionately slender, their bellies protuberant, with high shoulders and large heads; and, strange to find in this part of the world, they are a degenerate race of Negroes with woolly hair,* flat noses, and thick lips; their eyes are small and red, their skin of deep sooty black, whilst their countenances exhibit the extreme of wretchedness: a horrid mixture of famine and ferocity. They go quite naked, and are insensible of any shame from exposure.

"Two young women, allured by temptation of fish, were secured and brought on board a ship at anchor in the harbour: the captain treated them with great humanity; they soon got rid of all fear of violence, except what might be offered to their chastity, which they guarded with unremitting vigilance: although they had a small apartment allotted to themselves, and had no real cause for apprehen-

* It is a matter of much curiosity to discover the origin of a race of people so widely differing not only from all the inhabitants of that vast continent in the bosom of which the Island of Andaman is embayed, but also from the natives of the Nicobar Islands, which are immediately contiguous to it. Hitherto the inquiries of travellers seem to have produced no satisfactory conclusion: some have supposed that a Portuguese ship, early in the 16th century, laden with slaves from Mosambique, had been cast on these shores, and that the present Andamaners are the descendants of such as escaped drowning. This conjecture is proved to be grossly erroneous, from the account given by the two Mahommedan travellers, long anterior to the navigation of those seas by Europeans. The Arabians, however, who sailed on the Indian Ocean so early as the 7th century, and who not only explored the continent of India as far as the Chinese sea, but likewise gained a knowledge of most of the eastern islands, might, by an accident similar to that which has been ascribed to the Portuguese vessel, have peopled Andaman with its present Negro race. It deserves remark, that on the continent of India *extra Gangem*, figures of Boodh, or Budhoo, the Gaudma of the Birmans and Siamese, are often seen with the characteristic hair and features of the Negro.

sion, one always watched while the other slept; they suffered clothes to be put on, but took them off again as soon as opportunity offered, and threw them away as useless incumbrances. When their fears were over they became cheerful, chattered with freedom, and were inexpressibly diverted at the sight of their own persons in a mirror; they were fond of singing, sometimes in a melancholy recitative, at others in a lively key; and often danced about the deck with great agility, slapping their posteriors with the back of their heel. Wine and spirituous liquors were disagreeable to them; no food seemed so palatable as fish, rice, and sugar. In a few weeks, having recovered strength and become fat, from the more than half-famished state in which they were brought on board, they began to think confinement irksome, and longed to regain their native freedom.

"In the middle of the night, when all but the watchman were asleep, they passed in silence through the captain's cabin, jumped out of the stern windows into the sea, and swam to an island half a mile distant, where it was vain to pursue them, had there been any such intention; but the object was to retain them by kindness, not by compulsion, an attempt that has failed on every trial. Hunger may (and these instances are rare) induce them to put themselves in the power of strangers, but the moment that want is satisfied, nothing short of coercion can prevent them from returning to a way of life more congenial to their savage nature. The few implements they use are of the rudest texture; a bow from four to five feet long, the string made of the fibre of a tree, or a slip of bamboo, with arrows of reed, headed with fish-bone, or wood hardened in the fire, is their principal weapon. Besides this, they carry a spear of heavy wood, sharply pointed, and a shield made of bark, to defend themselves from the assaults of their enemies; for even these poor wretches have rights to assert and dignities to maintain; necessity has taught them an expert management of their arms, on which they rely for subsistence: happily for them, their numerous bays and creeks abound with fish, which they shoot and spear with surprising dexterity. They are said also to use a small hand net, made of the filaments of bark; to fish when caught

is put into a wicker basket, which they carry on their backs. Having kindled a fire they throw the food on the coals, and devour it half broiled. A few diminutive swine are to be found in the skirts of the forests, and among the mangrove thickets in the low grounds; but these are very scarce, and are probably the progeny of a stock left by former navigators. When a native has the good fortune to slay one, he carefully preserves the skull and teeth to ornament his hut. They cross the bays, and go to fish either in canoes formed of a hollow tree, or on rafts of bamboo, which they direct by paddles. Their habitations display little more ingenuity than the dens of wild beasts; four sticks stuck in the ground, are bound together at the top, and fastened transversely by others, to which branches of trees are suspended; an opening is left on one side, just large enough to admit of entrance: leaves compose their bed. Being much incommoded by insects, their first occupation in a morning is to plaister their bodies all over with mud, which, hardening in the sun, forms an impenetrable armour; they paint their woolly heads with red ochre and water: when thus completely dressed, a more hideous appearance is not to be found in human form.

"Their religion is the simple, but genuine homage of nature, to the incomprehensible ruler of the universe, expressed in adoration to the sun, as the primary and most obvious source of good; to the moon as the secondary power; and to the genii of the woods, the waters, and the mountains, as inferior agents. In the spirit of the storms they confess the influence of a malignant being; and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses, which they chant in small congregations assembled on the beach, or on some rock that overhangs the ocean.

"Of a future state it is not known that they have any idea, which possibly arises from our imperfect means of discovering their opinions; it affords, however, satisfactory reflection to find, among the most ignorant and barbarous of mankind, a confirmation of the great and pleasing truth that all reasoning existence acknowledges a God. The half-humanized Andamaner invokes the luminaries that

lend him light; and in that simple and spontaneous praise, he offers up the purest devotion of an unenlightened mind.

"Although the principal food of the Andamaners consists of fish, yet they eagerly seize on whatever else presents itself; lizards, guanas, rats, and snakes supply a change of repast. Birds are not numerous, and seldom come within reach; doves, parroquets, and the Indian crow, are the most common: hawks are sometimes seen hovering over the tops of the trees; but they are only temporary visitors from the neighbouring continent: a few aquatic birds frequent the shores; amongst these are the kingfisher, a sort of curlew, and the small sea-gull. Within the caverns and recesses of the rocks is found the salangane, or *Hirundo Nidis Edulibus*, described by Monsieur Poivre: this bird, whose nest produces a high price in China, is perfectly black, and resembles a small martin; its nest is thickly glazed with a mucilaginous substance, which the bird collects from the sea blubber, and is said to swallow, and afterwards emit from the stomach; it is prized by the Chinese for its supposed medicinal and restorative qualities.

"The vegetable diet of the Andamaners consists of the natural produce of the woods, in which the researches of Europeans find little that is palatable or nutritious; the fruit of the mangrove is principally used, having often been found in their deserted habitations steeping in an embanked puddle of water. As they have no pot* or vessel that can bear the action of fire, they cannot derive much advantage from such esculent herbs as the forests may contain; indeed, their extenuated and diseased figures too plainly indicate the want of wholesome nourishment; unhappily for them, the cocoanut, which thrives in the utmost luxuriance in the neighbouring isles, is not to be found here; they are extremely fond of it; whenever a nut was left in their way by the settlers, it was immediately carried off with much apparent satisfaction. Captain Stokoe, who constantly resided on the island, disappointed in his attempts to establish a social inter-

* The fragments of earthern vessels, mentioned by Mr. Colebrooke, were probably brought from the Nicobars, or from the continent, by the boats that often visit the Andamans for the purpose of taking the nests before mentioned.

course, endeavoured to alleviate their wants by sending, as often as circumstances would admit, small supplies of victuals to their huts, which were always abandoned on the approach of his people, but resorted to again when they had withdrawn. A party of fishers belonging to the Settlement enticed a woman by the allurement of food, to come so close that she was made a prisoner; instead of relieving her hunger, they proceeded to offer violence; the cries of the poor creature brought a numerous troop of savage friends to her assistance, who rushing out of the thickets, attacked and killed two of the yet more savage aggressors. Their bodies were afterwards found disfigured in a shocking manner.

"A coasting party one day discovered a man and a boy stretched on the beach, apparently in the last stage of famine; they were conveyed to the Settlement: unfortunately, every effort of humanity failed to save the man, but the boy recovered, and is now in the service of Colonel Kyd, at Calcutta, where he is much noticed for the striking singularity of his appearance.

"The language of the Andamaners has not been discovered to possess the slightest affinity to any that is spoken in India, either continental or islandic. Captain Stokoe informed me, that what he heard was not at all harsh or disagreeable to the ear; their songs are wildly melodious, and their gesticulation, whilst singing, is extremely impassioned. This is one among the many evidences to prove that poetry is coeval with the language of man.

"The only quadrupeds seen on the island are hogs, rats, and the ichneumon; the guana also, of the lizard tribe, may be reckoned in this class; these prove very destructive to poultry: there are several species of snakes and scorpions. Labourers, whilst clearing away the underwood, were frequently bitten; but in no instance did the bite prove mortal, although the patients commonly fell into violent convulsions; eau-de-luce and opium were the remedies in most cases administered.

"During the prevalence of the North-East monsoon, fish is caught in great abundance, but in the tempestuous season it is difficult to be procured; grey mullet, rock cod, skate, and soles are among the best; oysters have been found, but in no great quantity. The shores

abound in a variety of beautiful shells, *gorgonias*, *madreporas*, *murex*, and *cowries*, with many other kinds, of which Captain Stokoe had made a curious and valuable collection.

"There are several sorts of trees on the island; the *Ficus Religiosa* or banyan tree, the almond tree, the oil tree, that grows to a great height, from which a very useful oil is thus produced. A horizontal incision being made in the trunk, six or eight inches deep, a chip fourteen or fifteen inches long, is cut at right angles, and the surface of the incision being hollowed and filled with live coals, the turpentine, or wood oil, exudes copiously from the top of the wound.

"The penaigre tree is also found, and is well adapted for the knees of ships; and the iron tree of stupendous size, whose timber almost bids defiance to the axe of the wood-cutter; the red-wood which makes beautiful furniture, little inferior to fine mahogany. Besides these, there are numberless creepers and rattans which surround the stems of the larger trees, and, interwoven with each other form so thick a hedge that it is impossible to penetrate far into the forests, unless by the slow and laborious process of cutting a road.

"The first settlers in an uninhabited land have not only to contend against natural obstacles, and the want of several necessary comforts of life, but must likewise encounter the effects of an unwholesome atmosphere; no country thoroughly agrees with the human constitution until it is cleared and cultivated. The new colonists, notwithstanding every possible attention was paid to the preservation of their health, became sickly; they were afflicted, during the four dry months, December, January, February, and March, with scurvy. This complaint, however, was owing to a change of food and a want of vegetable diet: as soon as the rains commenced, it mitigated and quickly disappeared, but it gave way to a dreadful successor, the intermittent fever and ague, which baffled all power of medicine. An induration and enlargement of the spleen, a disease well known in India by the name of *Boss*, was generally its concomitant. The cause of these fevers being local, could not be remedied. Situated in the full sweep of the south-west monsoon, and the clouds being obstructed by high mountains, the island is, for eight months in the

year, washed by incessant torrents. According to a meteorological table kept by Captain Stokoe, there appears to have fallen in seven months, 98 inches of water, a quantity far exceeding what I had ever heard of in any other country."*

(The notes, as well as the text in the above account, are by Major Symes.)

Remarks.—Major Symes is wrong in his dates; the Settlement in the Southern Harbour was established in 1789, and removed to the Northern Harbour in 1792.

It would appear that the idea of making the Settlement a Penal Colony was first entertained when it was moved to the Northern Harbour.

As I have shown above, Ptolemy is not responsible for the *Insulæ Bonæ Fortunæ.*

I am unable to understand how the idea of the Andamanese being frequently in a state of distress from hunger arose. It is certainly unfounded.

The true character of the Nicobarese, who, however, claim to have been educated in evil by the Malays, was fully disclosed in the succeeding century, when they were found to be anything but "mild and inoffensive."

There are some remnants of buildings on the mainland on the south side of the harbour, south of Chatham Island, which appear to mark the spot where Major Symes landed, as he speaks of a Settlement on the side of a hill rising abruptly from the verge of the sea, which corresponds to this place, but not to the remains on the north end of Chatham Island.

It is evident that our settlers had no knowledge of the Éremtága tribes, and it is remarkable that people living for months in the islands should have the idea that the jungle contained no animals to supply the aborigines with food.

[An extract of Lieutenant Colebrooke's vocabulary is attached in the original as a specimen of the language of the islands, which, referring as it does to the Járawa tribe of the South Andaman principally, must have been very useful in the North Andaman.—M. V. Portman.]

Major Symes was much at fault in his description of these savages.

They are not a degenerate race of any kind, and are wanting in Negro characteristics. Their eyes are neither especially small, nor red, and the reason why they are supposed to have been in constant state of famine, I, as I have said, cannot understand.

The dance described resembles that of the Öngé Group of Tribes, but I have seen something a little like it in the North Andaman. Major Symes does not say in which harbour the young women were caught.

The "spear made of heavy wood," and "the shield made of bark," are absolutely unknown to the Andamanese. The mention of the rafts of bamboo shows that some of the information was about the Southern Harbour tribes, and the account of the mode of painting confirms this; probably little had been seen of the North Andamanese. The first settlers would appear to have been too busy for anthropological research. The paragraph on the religion of the Andamanese, is, as might be expected, almost entirely incorrect. To investigate this subject required a more intimate knowledge of the Andamanese language than any one at that time possessed, and the Andamanese do not readily discuss it with any stranger.

Snakes are not eaten, except by the Éremtága tribe of the North Andaman, of whom I have shown the settlers had no knowledge; possibly lampreys are meant. Hawks are permanent residents in the Andamans, not "temporary visitors from the neighbouring continent."

The edible-birds' nest building swift is black and white, and not "perfectly black;" and the marketable variety of nest is made entirely from, not merely "glazed with," mucilage.

Major Symes should not have attempted to correct Lieutenant Colebrooke, who was perfectly right in saying that the Andamanese had pottery of their own.

This narrative shows that the boy whom Major Kyd took to Calcutta was a North Andamanese; the state of famine in which he was found was probably merely a resultant from disease, and it is

possible that some epidemic had been introduced by the settlers among the aborigines. He would probably have been better described as weakened and exhausted by sickness, as the Andamanese, when seriously ill, waste away to mere skeletons.

As regards Captain Stokoe's opinion of the music of the Andamanese, I can only say that tastes differ.

By the "ichneumon" Major Symes may have meant the *Paradoxurus*.

One last word as regards the cannibalism. Andamanese murderers will drink the blood, and eat, with their pork, the breast flesh of their victims, but these people are regarded by the other Andamanese as more or less insane. All the tribes of the Great Andaman have the custom in a greater or less degree of burning the dead bodies of their enemies, and the neighbouring Ár-*yāūto* tribes accuse the hostile Éremtágas of the North Andaman of eating human flesh, though I have never found a person who was an eye-witness of their having done so. The Andamanese look on the practice with horror, but it is evident that they know of it from their accusing people they dislike of doing it. Such facts, however, do not justify a sweeping charge of cannibalism against the whole race.

CHAPTER V.

Andamanese taken to Penang in a Junk after a fight—Mr. J B. Rodyk's accounts Rendezvous of the British Fleet in Port Cornwallis in 1824—Mr. J. E. Alexander's visit to the Little Andaman—Mr. Piddington's visit to Landfall Island—Malcolm's account—Dr. Helfer's murder by the Andamanese—Account of the wrecks of the British ships *Briton* and *Runnymede* on the Archipelago Islands of the Andamans—Mr. Quigley's account—Settlement on the Coco Islands—Wreck of the *Emily*—Wreck of the *Flying Fish*.

After the closing of the Settlement in Port Cornwallis in 1796, the Andamans seem to have been left alone for some years. Doubtless wrecks occurred on the coasts, but we have no record of them, and the Malays seem to have resumed their slave-trading there, which they only abandoned after the present Settlement was opened.

About 1819 a Junk manned by a mixed crew of Chinese and Burmese went to the Andamans to collect trepang. While they were lying about two miles from the shore, engaged in the collection, eight or ten Andamanese swam off towards them. When close by, the savages fired several flights of arrows, wounding four of the Chinese who were not expecting an attack. The Burmese, however, pursued the Andamanese, who swam away, and with some difficulty, owing to the habit of the Andamanese of avoiding pursuit by swimming under the water for considerable distances, and coming to the surface in a different direction from the one where they might be expected to appear, caught two of them, who were taken to Penang.

These captives were an elderly man and a boy, and a curious detail noticed about the former was, that while on board ship the boy shaved his head with a piece of a broken plate. The man died of cholera while on his way to Calcutta, but the boy lived for some time in Penang in the service of Captain Anderson of the Bengal Army, and his son, Mr. Anderson, of the Penang Civil Service. He was tractable and docile, acquired a good colloquial knowledge of Malay and Urdu, and might have done well but that he took to drink and died of delirium tremens.

The only other authentic case of Andamanese having been taken away from the Islands, which I have been able to obtain, is the following.

Mr. J. B. D. Rodyk, an old pensioner of the Penang Settlement, states :—

"The only instance I remember of people from the Andamans being brought to Penang, was in the years between 1838 and 1841. A family consisting of a man, woman, and two children were brought over from there to this, whether as slaves or not I could not say, but they were left in the custody of the Police. The children were sent to the Boys' and Girls' Free Schools, the girl was called Mary Andaman, and the boy Friday Andaman. The man and the boy a few years after died of cholera, and the woman soon after died of small-pox. When the girl came to the age of fourteen she was removed from the school by T. G. Mitchel, Head Clerk of the Police Court and Court of Requests, to serve in his family as an ayah, where she remained many years. When she left that family I was told she went to Malacca and served a lady there as an ayah, and when she left her she went down to Singapore and settled there, and opened a girls' school for native children but whether she is still living (1895) I do not know."

The above will show that the Andamanese are by no means of such degraded intellects as people would have us believe. The women especially are capable of a good deal of education, and are able to fend for themselves in foreign lands. Further, similar cases, which will be described later on, have occurred during the last twenty years.

There were Andamanese slaves at the Court of Siam until a recent date, and probably also at other Courts in India, Burmah, and the Malay Peninsula.

The British fleet was appointed to *rendezvous* in Port Cornwallis in 1824, before proceeding to the first Burmese War.

The vessels appear to have been there from between the 25th and 30th of April, as they successively arrived, to the 5th of May, when they all departed. The delay was owing to the want of water, some

of the ships from Madras having only four days' supply in hand, and Captain Marryat is mentioned as having done good work by the energetic manner in which he collected water from the streams and supplied the ships. No mention is made of the aborigines, and it is probable that, frightened by the number of ships and people assembled, they hid in the jungle.

I obtain the following extract containing an account of a visit paid to the Little Andaman Island in November, 1825, from "Travels from India to England; comprehending a visit to the Burman Empire, and a journey through Persia, Asia Minor, European Turkey, etc., in the years 1825-26. By James Edward Alexander, Esq., Lieut., late His Majesty's 13th Light Dragoons, and attached to the suite of Colonel Macdonald Kinneir, K.L.S., Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Teheran."

Mr. Alexander left Madras on the 16th of October, 1825, for Rangoon, on board of the Hon'ble Company's Transport *Earl Kellie*, and after passing the North and South Sentinel Islands, he anchored off Ekiti Bay at the North-West of the Little Andaman on the 12th of November, the vessel being short of water. He states:—

"This island, unlike the Great Andaman, is upon a level with the water's edge (At the northern end only.—*M.V.P.*): it is covered with a very lofty jungle, and is of coral formation. (It is not.—*M.V.P.*) The length is twenty-five miles, the breadth fifteen. (The extreme length is twenty-six and a half miles, and the extreme breadth is sixteen miles.—*M.V.P.*) We saw a light on the shore, brought up off the North-West point, and anchored in eight fathoms and a half at two miles and a half distance from the land.

"The next morning, at daylight, the chief mate and myself left the vessel in one of the cutters, intending to search for water. We had six Bengal Lascars on board, armed with muskets, besides the tyndal or coxswain, who was a Malay. In pulling towards the shore, we observed on the beach a woman and child, who appeared to be collecting shell-fish: on perceiving the boat approaching they ran into the jungle. We discovered a small sandy bay (which I took the

liberty of christening after the name of our ship) with coral reefs running out from both extremes, over which a tremendous surf was breaking: the water inside was perfectly smooth. (This was probably Ekiti Bay, where I also first landed in March, 1886.—*M.V.P.*) Anchoring the cutter a few fathoms' length from shore, and leaving a couple of hands in her, we landed with the remainder of the crew, and proceeded along the beach towards the north-west point, in search of two runs of water mentioned by Horsburgh in his Directory. (These are not known.—*M.V.P.*) We had not gone far when, at an angle of the jungle which covers the island to within a few yards of the water's edge, we came suddenly upon a party of natives, lying on their bellies behind the bushes, armed with spears, arrows, and long bows, which they bent at us in a threatening manner. The Lascars as soon as they saw them, fell back in great consternation, levelling their muskets, and running into the sea towards the boat. It was with great difficulty we could prevent the cowardly rascals from firing: the tyndal was the only one who stood by the chief mate and myself. We advanced within a few paces of the natives, and made signs of drinking, to intimate the purpose of our visit. The tyndal salaamed to them, according to the different Oriental modes of salutation; he spoke to them in Malay, and other languages; they returned no answer, but continued crouching in their menacing attitude, pointing their weapons at us wherever we turned. I held out my handkerchief towards them, but they would not come from behind the bushes to take it. I placed it upon the ground, and we retired in order to allow them to pick it up: still they did not move.

"I counted sixteen strong and able-bodied men opposite to us, many of them very lusty; and further on six more. They were very different in appearance from what the natives of the Great Andaman are described to be, namely, a puny race. The whole party was completely naked, with the exception of a stout man, nearly six feet in height (?), who was standing up along with two or three women in the rear; he wore on his head a red cloth with white spots. They were the most ferocious and wild-looking beings I ever saw. Their hair was frizzled or woolly; they had flat noses, with small red

eyes (?). Those parts of their skin which were not besmeared with mud (to defend them probably from the attacks of insects) were of a sooty black colour; their hideous faces seemed to be painted with a red ochre. (They only paint their *hair* with red ochre now.—*M.V.P.*) I may here remark, that the natives of the Andamans, who are decidedly a negro race, differing widely from the inhabitants of the neighbouring continent, are supposed to be the descendants of the survivors of an Arab slave ship wrecked on one of the islands some centuries ago. The Chinese, who occasionally resort to these islands to collect the edible swallows' nests and *bêche de mer*, affirm that they are anthropophagi. It is certain that part of the crews of several junks, who have lately fallen into their hands, were never heard of.

"At this juncture, the other cutter, with two or three of the officers on board, neared the beach; and observing what was going forward, they called to us to retire a short distance and allow the tyndal to go up and speak to the savages, as they might be afraid of Europeans. We accordingly fell back to the water's edge, and having desired the tyndal (who evinced no signs of fear) to strip, in order to convince them he was unarmed, he approached the natives within a few paces, and offered them handkerchiefs, making at the same time signs of drinking; but upon his attempting to advance closer they drew their bows in a menacing manner. Seeing this, we called him off; and not knowing how to act in this emergency without advice from the ship (as we had been directed not to molest the natives), both cutters returned. Upon reporting what had occurred, a subaltern's party was ordered to accompany us. We left the ship again in the four boats, with the water-casks, and a party of pioneers to fill them, and landed at the same place as before. Not seeing anything of the natives, we proceeded along the beach towards the southward. Upon turning a point we discovered a hut on the edge of the jungle; approaching it, we found it to be about fifteen feet in height, of a conical shape, and thatched with rattan leaves to within a foot and half of the ground, leaving just room to crawl in underneath.

"The floor inside was strewed with leaves, and there were several

cots, or raised sleeping-places, consisting of four stakes driven into the ground, on which was fixed a bamboo grating.

"Ranged round the walls were the smoked skulls of a diminutive species of pig. From the roof was suspended a piece of red and white chequered cloth, which seemed to be of Madras manufacture. In conical baskets there were pieces of jack fruit, with a nut resembling a chestnut, and several roots. In a corner I found several large mangroves. At a fire, the following shells were roasting; the green *murex tribulus, trochus telescopium, cypraea caurica,* and several varieties of mussel. The drinking cups were *Nautili.*

"The weapons were a bow, from six to seven feet in length, which is bent with the feet, the archer sitting on the ground (It is not.—*M.V.P.*); and a hand bow of four feet. The strings were made of the dark red fibres of a tree; the arrows were three and four feet in length, the upper part of a very hard white wood, inserted in a stock of cane, so as to quiver in the wound. (Not at all; the cane shaft is for the sake of lightness.—*M.V.P.*)

"The soldiers shot several of them at a tree: they penetrated a couple of inches into the solid timber, and it required the joint strength of two men to pull them out, and even then the points were not injured. Several arrows were found with two, three, and four prongs. The hand-nets were formed of black filaments of bark. (No; of a fibre.—*M.V.P.*) In one of the baskets, carefully wrapped up in a cloth, were the head of a harpoon with two barbs, a Malay chopping knife, and several spike-nails and ring-bolts. These last were probably from the American ship *Dove,* which was wrecked here several years ago. We saw no idols of any description, nor canoes or rafts.

"Naturally concluding that there was water near the hut, we penetrated into the entangled jungle in the rear of it, consisting of dammer trees, red-wood, the Alexandrian laurel, aloes, ground rattans, many *convolvuli,* and a very lofty and straight tree, about twelve feet in girth, the wood of which, if not too heavy, would answer admirably for masts. Having advanced about thirty or forty yards from the beach, we came to a pool of good water; but its position

being inconvenient, we were looking for another, when we observed our people left in charge of the boats in considerable alarm, and making signs to us that there was danger in the jungle. Advancing towards the spot at which they were pointing, we discovered a party of sixty or seventy of the natives waiting in ambush our approach. We went towards them in order to induce them to shew us another pool. So little intention had we of molesting or injuring them, that we had brought with us several looking-glasses, cloth, and baubles to give them. However, we had no sooner got within fifteen yards of them than we were assailed with a shower of arrows, which struck several of us. I received a scratch in the leg which lamed me for several days after. We immediately extended the files to skirmishing order, and returned with a round of musketry, which killed and wounded several of them. Fixing bayonets, we then charged them; but they, well knowing the intricacies of the jungle, and being extremely nimble, succeeded in not only effecting their escape, but also in carrying off the disabled of their party. We were brought up by a deep pool, and saw them making off on the other side, shouting 'Yahun, Yahun.'

"After this encounter we continued our march along the beach, and discovered another pool of very good and sweet water immediately opposite the vessel, and just within the skirts of the jungle. Having sent for the water casks, and hoisted a Jack at the pool, (being a preconcerted signal to those on board), we left half the party there, and proceeded with the remainder along a path into the jungle, expecting that it would lead to a village where we might get live stock (!). We advanced about a couple of miles without seeing any more huts, or natives, and no quadrupeds of any sort. The wood into which we penetrated, and in which the bugle alone kept us together, was one of the most gloomy and dismal that can possibly be conceived: it was, indeed, *Nemus atrum horrenti umbrâ.*

"The trees were of great height, in many places thickly interwoven with rattans and bushrope. The sunbeams being unable to penetrate the entangled foliage, the atmosphere, in consequence, bore the semblance of twilight. The broad boughs hung rich with heavy

dew-drops, and the air was loaded with a damp and pestilential vapour, occasioned by the rotting twigs, leaves, and fruit, with which the swampy ground was thickly strewed. The death-like stillness was occasionally interrupted by a solitary parrot winging its noisy flight overhead; but owing to the luxuriance of our vegetable canopy it was almost impossible to gain even an imperfect view of him. Numerous snakes were observed stealing along amongst the bushes. From several we had narrow escapes: those we succeeded in killing were all furnished with poisonous fangs, and many bore a striking resemblance to the *coluber prester*, or viper, but generally they were spotted.

"Tired with our exertions, we returned to the watering pool; and having rolled the casks up to it, we sat down to a slight refection previous to commencing the filling. Whilst busily engaged with our repast, a strong party of the natives stole down upon us, and threw in a shower of arrows, which killed one and severely wounded three of the soldiers. We quickly formed, charged them, killed and wounded several, and continued skirmishing with them till sunset; for they made several desperate attempts to cut off the pioneers engaged in filling, and it required the greatest alertness to keep them off. At last, the pioneers having completed their task, we gave them a parting volley, and pulled off from Kellie Bay for the ship. But a strong current at that time setting to the North-East, at the rate of four knots an hour, we found that, instead of being able to gain the vessel, we were drifting fast out to sea; we therefore anchored the water-boats, and the two others having gone alongside, the ship's anchor was weighed, and dropping down to the long-boat, and cutter, she was brought up in thirteen fathoms, and by midnight we got on board, after a hard day's work, and laden with bows, arrows, shells, etc. During the night the savages collected from all parts of the island, and kept shouting and yelling in defiance on the beach; but having got what we wanted, we did not humour them by a second visit.

"Our present connection with the Burman Empire, which will lead to frequent intercourse with that country by sea, renders

it highly desirable that some attempts should be made to conciliate the natives of the Andamans. The Little Andaman would be a convenient watering place, besides affording abundant materials for refitting or building ships. Under existing circumstances, a visit to this Island is extremely hazardous as the foregoing details will prove."

The above most interesting account is especially valuable as it is the only one we have of a visit to the Little Andaman Island.

It is difficult to fix the spot where the party landed, but it was either at Bumila Creek, Tókyui Bay, or Ekiti Bay. If it had been either of the two former, Bumila Creek and Jackson Creek would probably have been mentioned, and I am, therefore, inclined to believe that they landed on the shore in Ekiti Bay, met the Pálalánkwés there, then walked round the point to Tókyui, where the fights took place with the Tókyui and Náchugé people.

As regards the conduct of the party towards the savages, their contempt for, and disregard of, them, and their prompt punishment of their attack, the account would appear to be typical of the attitude of passers-by towards the Andamanese at this time.

The remarks about the long bow are interesting, as showing that this bow, now only used by the Jàrawa tribe of the South Andaman, and the Éremtága Öngés, was then in common use among the Öngés on the coast; (it may have been the original form of bow used by this Group of Tribes, and have been slowly discarded in favour of the smaller bow,) and it draws the link between the Jàrawa and the Öngé Tribes closer. There would seem to have been accounts of wrecks of Chinese Junks on the Andamans at this time, and the wreck of the *Dove* appears to have been well known, but I cannot find any records of the subject.

Mr. Alexander's concluding remarks regarding the possibility of utilising the Little Andaman in preference to the other Islands of the Andaman Group, would probably not have been made had he seen the other Islands with their magnificent harbours.

The late Mr. Piddington mentions that he was once anchored off

Landfall Island (at the Northern end of the Andaman Group), and saw a number of savages round a fire on the beach. On landing, he found a human body on the fire, too much charred for identification. It was nearly reduced to a cinder, and therefore could not have been intended for food.

If it really was a human body it can be accounted for by the fact that the North Andaman Group of Tribes burn the dead bodies of their enemies and of strangers.

The date of Mr. Piddington's visit is not known, but it was probably about 1830.

In Malcolm's "Travels in Southern Asia" he mentions having passed the Andamans on the 12th of February, 1836, going through the Coco Channel. He merely repeats the old stories about the Andamanese, showing that he knew nothing of Blair and Colebrooke's accounts, and he did not see the aborigines, or land on the island.

Dr. Helfer, a Russian geologist, visited the islands in 1839, in the hope of finding gold, and was murdered by the aborigines just north of Port Cornwallis.

His act in going almost alone among these savages to search for minerals was foolhardy, and could only have ended as it did.

The following account of the wrecks of the ships *Briton* and *Runnymede*, during the night of the 11th of November, 1844, on John Lawrence Island, in the Archipelago Group of the Andaman Islands, is taken from the Journal published in the *Englishman* newspaper of Calcutta, in January, 1845.

The authors of the Journal are believed to have been the Chief Officer of the *Briton* and one of the officers of the 80th Regiment; and the original is in diary form, and is somewhat carelessly written. The account in the Journal has been preserved as far as possible, only necessary alterations and such additions as are required to elucidate the narrative being made.

As will be seen, the occurrence is one of the most remarkable known in the history of wrecks: on account of the extraordinary meeting of the two ships, both bound for the same port, and having

sailed from opposite sides of the globe; from the fact that, had they not been wrecked so close together, and each been able to supply the wants of the other, the loss of life would probably have been considerable; from the fact that in the wrecks themselves no lives were lost, and that the casualties from sickness, etc., while the party remained on the Andamans, were so few, and finally, which alone would make it desirable that the narrative should be more widely known, on account of the admirable conduct of all on board.

The women and children seem to have given no trouble, and hardly any mention is made of them in the account.

An account of the wrecks of the British ships *Briton* and *Runnymede*, which were driven ashore on the Andaman Islands by a cyclone during the night of the 11th of November, 1844. Compiled from the Journal of survivors who had sailed in the *Briton*, from Sydney New South Wales.

On the morning of the 12th of August, 1844, Her Majesty's 80th Regiment, about 1,000 strong, marched out of Sydney Barracks to embark for Calcutta, in the following order:

The Head-Quarters and Flank Companies, with Lt.-Colonel Baker in command, embarked in the ship *Royal Saxon*.

Numbers 1 and 4 Companies, with Major Naith in command, embarked in the ship *Lloyds*.

Numbers 2, 3, and 6 Companies, with Major Bunbury in command, embarked in the ship *Briton*.

Numbers 7 and 8 Companies, with Major Num in command, embarked in the ship *Enmore*.

His Excellency, Sir M. C. O'Connell, K.C.B., the Commander of of the Forces, and Colonel of the Regiment, attended by his Staff, rode at the head of the Corps and accompanied it to the place of embarkation. This having been completed, the several ships hauled out into the stream, and on the morning of the 15th got under weigh

together, and the regiment bade adieu to the colony, where they had been stationed for over seven years.

After leaving Sydney Heads we had baffling winds and dirty weather, and did not make Torres Straits till the 25th August, the four ships rounding the Breaksea Spit within an hour of each other. The passage through the Straits, at all times tedious, occupied 18 days.

On the 11th of September we all lay to off Booby Island, each ship sending a boat on shore to communicate with the Post Office. From the 13th, we had light winds until the 28th, when we anchored in Kupang Roads, Timor Island, where we found the *Royal Saxon* and *Lloyds*, which had arrived a few hours before us. Her Majesty's Sloop-of-war *Royalist* was also there. Having filled up with water, and taken in fresh provisions, fruits, etc., we again stood to sea on the afternoon of the 2nd of October, in company with the *Royalist* and *Lloyds*, the *Royal Saxon* having taken her departure on the previous evening.

As the occurrences, now about to be related, refer alone to the *Briton*, I may here give some short account of that ship and the details of the troops on board.

The *Briton* was a North-American-built barque of 776 tons measurement, and registered A1 at Lloyds. She was on her second voyage, was commanded by Captain Bell, and had a crew of 34 men and boys. The troops on board consisted of three companies of the 80th Regiment, under the command of Major Bunbury, with Captains Bert, Sayers, and Montgomery; Lieutenants Leslie and Freeman; Ensigns Hunter and Coleman; and Assistant-Surgeon Gammie; the total being 9 officers, 12 sergeants, 4 drummers, 293 rank and file, 35 women, and 43 children. The vessel thus had on board a total of 431 souls.

The day after leaving Kupang we lost sight of the *Lloyds*; the *Royalist* was still in company with us. On the 5th October, the season being so far advanced, the Master decided on taking the inner passage, and bore up for the Straits of Lombok, the *Royalist*, which was proceeding to Singapore, agreeing to keep with us.

In the Java Sea we had light winds and fine weather, and reached Singapore on the 22nd October, having parted company with the *Royalist* a few days before in the Carimata Passage.

After leaving Singapore, we were wind bound for several days before we got into the Straits of Malacca; here we had variable winds with occasional squalls, one of which sprung our main yard. The following day it was securely fished. Several vessels of different sizes were in company with us. On passing the town of Malacca a native boat came off with fruits, vegetables, jungle fowls, etc.

As we drew to the Northward, and got clear of the Straits, we naturally expected to fall in with the North-East Monsoon, but the wind kept variable and unsteady, not blowing for two days together then from the same quarter.

On Friday, the 8th of November, the wind, which had been from the North-East, veered round to the West-South-West. We were in North Latitude, by observation, 9°-11′.

On Saturday the 9th, the weather was cloudy with a threatening appearance, and we were unable to take an observation to ascertain our position. The wind remained West-South-West in the afternoon, and the weather being still threatening we took in the royals, flying jib, and gaff topsail. At 5 P.M. on this date the Sympiesometer commenced to fall, and we had small rain with heavy gusts of wind.

The top-gallant sails and spanker were furled, and we double reefed the fore top-sail, single reefed the main top-sail, and set the reefed main-sail. At 10 P.M., the weather clearing a little, we again set the top-gallant sails and spanker. At midnight, as it was cloudy and there were strong gusts of wind accompanied by small rain, we took in the top-gallant sails, the jib, and the spanker.

At 1 A.M. on Sunday morning the 10th, as the gale was increasing, we furled the main and fore-sails, and close reefed the top-sails.

At 4 A.M., there were heavy squalls, and the spanker and gaff top-sail blew out of their gaskets, nor were we able to secure them, so they were cut away to save the masts.

By daylight the squalls were terrific; the fore-sail blew out of its gaskets and was cut away, and the parrel of the main top-gallant yard

broke and left the yard swinging by the haulyards. The ship was brought to the wind, with her head to the South-West, at 10 A.M.: it was still blowing heavily, and we endeavoured to wear ship in order to get her on the opposite tack. The helm was put hard up, and all hands were sent forward into the weather fore rigging with a tarpaulin, at the same time an attempt was made to hoist the jib and fore topmast stay-sail, both of which were blown to pieces, the vessel refusing to pay off even a point.

By 11-30 the gale had increased to a hurricane. The Sympiesometer had fallen from 29° 30′ to 28° 10′. The fore-top-mast was blown over the side, and was shortly followed by the main and mizen-top-masts which were snapped off close by the cap, the former taking with it the main yard broken in half in the slings. In less than ten minutes we were a wreck fore and aft, the fore-top-mast striking heavily against the top-sides abreast of the fore-rigging.

Shortly after 12 noon, the squalls lulled almost to a calm, and we congratulated ourselves that the force of the gale was broken; all hands went to work to clear away the wreck, and we bent a new spanker and got up another foresail ready to bend. The loose spars, etc., were lashed to the ringbolts, and the Major's horsebox secured with extra lashings. The weather was still cloudy, the Thermometer being 84°, the Sympiesometer 28° 10′, and it was close and sultry with an occasional gleam of sunshine. An immense number of birds came on board completely spent by their struggles with the wind, and we caught several, among them being hawks, goat-suckers, golden king-fishers, etc.

It being found impossible to light a fire in either of the galleys, the men were served with some biscuits and a glass of rum each, of which they stood much in need, every article of their clothing being thoroughly wet; not a murmur was heard and each man stood ready to give his assistance as required, whether in clearing the wreck or at the pumps.

By 3 P.M. the weather again lowered, the Sympiesometer which had stood at 28° 10′, fell to 27° 90′, and the squalls recommenced

with great violence, accompanied as before with small rain, thunder and lightning.

By 4 P.M. the gale had increased to a hurricane, both the quarter boats, the cuddy sky-light, meat safe, and hen-coops were blown away. The sea was boiling up as high as the poop, and the general appearance of the ship in this storm was truly awful. We got a tarpaulin battened over the cuddy hatch to keep the wet out.

At 5 P.M. the ship rolling heavily, the Major's horsebox gave way, and the horse falling on the deck, was thrown by the next lurch down the hatchway amongst the soldiers. The poor animal's fore legs were broken, and finding it impossible to rig a purchase to hoist him upon deck, his throat was cut and the carcase lashed to leeward as securely as possible. Night came on, and though the Sympiesometer was still falling and the squalls were terrific beyond description, yet we kept up our spirits in the hope that the gale would have blown itself out by the morning, when, with the whole day before us, we might get sufficient sail on the ship to keep her under command.

Day broke, Monday, the 11th of November, and brought disappointment to our hopes. The gale, which had blown violently during the night, had in no way abated. The ship continued to labour much, and rolled heavily; the tarpaulin was blown off the cuddy hatch; the spars broke adrift and carried with them the cooking coppers* (which were broken to pieces), the galleys, long boat, and the other horse-box, and, as the ship rolled, they, together with some thirty fathom of chain cable belonging to the working anchor, which was on deck, were thrown from side to side with considerable violence. To move along the deck was impossible, but fortunately, about 11 A.M. the gale partially lulled, and fearing that the long boat (which was stove in) would carry away the bulwarks, it was hoisted over the side and cut adrift; we next threw overboard the other horse, which had been crushed in its box by the long boat, all the loose spars, and as much lumber as possible from about the decks.

The soldiers assisted the crew and worked the pumps, where many

of them got severely hurt, being jammed by the spars, etc., and one poor fellow had his leg broken.

At 12 noon, the sun came out for a few minutes, and the Master endeavoured to get an observation, but the horizon was not visible. About half a mile to the eastward we saw a barque with only her bowsprit, and main and mizen lower masts standing, and shortly after a brig was descried, totally dismasted; both vessels appeared to be labouring severely and the sea was breaking over them. Another tarpaulin was battened over the cuddy hatch and a door with some strong staves was nailed over it to keep it from being blown away again.

2 P.M.—The gale had now continued with but two short lulls for 38 hours. The Sympiesometer was 27°-30′, and still falling. With the horrors of the past night in our minds we hoped for the best, yet feared a repetition of what we had already endured. Some biscuits and a glass of rum was again issued to each of the men, raw pork was offered to them and declined, as they thought they could manage without it.

3 P.M.—The rain recommenced falling, with thunder and lightning, and heavy squalls, and by 4. P.M. the gale had again increased to a hurricane, the ship rolling heavily. At night the squalls were truly fearful, with much thunder and lightning.

At 10 P.M. it lulled for a few minutes; the wind then veered round to the East-North-East and blew with greater violence than ever. The Sympiesometer stood at 27°-5′, the Thermometer at 84°, and it was close and sultry. The ship being now on the opposite tack, the remaining spars, etc., which had been secured to leeward, broke adrift; while between decks, the dead horse was forced from his lashings and hurled from side to side, carrying away the arm racks, lockers, etc., fore and aft, and creating the greatest confusion, the arms, accoutrements, and knapsacks rolling about in every direction. Several of the men were hurt, and another man had his leg broken. After much exertion, we succeeded in securing the horse to the mainmast, the ship at this time taking a good deal of water on board which kept pouring down the hatchways.

11-30 P.M.—The squalls were awful with thunder and lightning; part of the bulwarks were blown away, and the poop began to crack and the fore part to give way; the cuddy table and seats were wrenched from their fastenings in the decks and thrown to leeward. Few of us ever expected to see the morning. The ship trembled from stem to stern, her bell tolling mournfully with every gust, as if to warn us of our approaching destruction. In and around the hospital the married soldiers had assembled with their wives and families. One of the women read portions from the Bible aloud, after which they joined in prayer and sung a hymn.

Every moment the ship threatened to break up. The starboard topsides and covering boards were started and the water poured in in great quantities, the men endeavouring to stop the leaks with their blankets, loose coats, and whatever else they could find. With each squall the poop seemed to give more and more. The Master took his chronometer, sextant, and charts down the after hatch into the lower cabin, telling the officers in the cuddy to be prepared to go below, as he feared the poop was no longer safe.

Midnight.—The hurricane still raged furiously, the ship making much water and labouring heavily; squall succeeded squall almost without intermission, with thunder and lightning; the Sympiesometer was below 27°, the oil occasionally leaving the tube altogether. The Thermometer stood at 84°, and it was excessively close.

About 12-30 the ship struck, and the sea breaking over her at the same moment threw her on her beam ends; the larboard poop after-cabin was swamped and raised from the deck, the Master's cabin was also floated. The cuddy door was jammed so that it could not be opened, and one of the windows, and the steward's pantry, were stove in. Both the mates were washed out of their cabins, one scrambled into the cuddy through the broken window, while the other got down the steerage hatch. The spanker boom was broken in three pieces, one of which striking the man at the lee helm carried away several of the spokes and jammed the wheel. These were moments of awful suspense, the ship on her beam ends, and we clinging to whatever we

could for support, expecting every moment that the next would dash her to atoms and seal our fate.

The boatswain cried out for all hands to scramble up to windward, in order that perhaps she might right. Shortly after she appeared to be forced over into smooth water, when she righted. At this time the leak between decks had so much increased that one of the soldiers came to report that they feared the ship was breaking up; the water poured in so fast that it defied all their exertions to stop it. The Master, with some of the officers went below, and the men, under their directions, collected blankets, loose coats, etc., and forced them in between the covering boards whence the water was rushing in. The lower deck was flooded, the water washing from side to side. The Master returned to the cuddy and informed the Commanding Officer it was necessary that the pumps should be manned; one of the officers scrambled out on deck through the window, but was almost immediately obliged to return. The night was extremely dark and the decks so lumbered up it was quite impossible to find the pumps, but the attempt was made from between decks with better success, the party ascending the hatchway and contriving to reach them. After working for some time it was ascertained that the ship was ashore. The wind continued raging, and the sprays to break over her.

The night was so dark it was impossible to see a yard before us, except during the flashes of lightning, when trees could be clearly discerned close on board the larboard side. By 1 A.M. the ship was perfectly steady, the wind still blowing violently with much rain, thunder, and lightning. The Sympiesometer had risen to 27° 20′, and continued to rise rapidly; by 2 A.M., it was up to 27° 60′.

To describe this awful hurricane which had lasted some fifty hours, so as to give the reader anything like an adequate idea of its fearful violence, or the anxiety of our situation, would be impossible.

The ship was an utter wreck, crowded with upwards of 400 souls, and without a single boat on board. Such was our situation when it pleased God to come to our assistance.

From the commencement of the gale part of a cold fowl and some biscuits were all the officers had amongst them, so, after congratu-

lating each other on our miraculous escape, and inwardly returning thanks to Heaven, we took some ale, and wine and water, before lying down, and so completely was nature exhausted that in less than half an hour every soul on board was fast asleep.

The next morning at daylight, to our great astonishment we discovered we had been driven high on shore into the centre of a mangrove swamp, where the ship had made a way for herself, and as we looked around and saw our position,—a 770-ton ship in the centre of a wood, we could scarcely believe our senses.

On the shore, about a quarter of a mile outside of us, lay the barque we had seen the previous day. At low tide a party of soldiers were lowered from her poop and waded over to us; from the officer who accompanied them we ascertained our companion to be the barque *Runnymede*, Captain Doughty, from Gravesend to Calcutta with detachments of the 10th and 50th Regiments under the command of Captain Stapleton, 50th Regiment.

This day, Tuesday, the 12th of November, it rained incessantly. A topsail was spread over the quarter deck for an awning, and the broken pieces of the coppers were collected to make a stove. After some contriving we succeeded in getting a kettle of water boiled for breakfast, and part of a broken boiler propped up to cook the meat for the men. About noon their dinner, of which they stood much in need, was served out; they had tasted nothing with the exception of a little biscuit, for 72 hours. Our live stock was mustered and found to consist of a solitary pig, everything else had either died during the gale, or been washed overboard. The *débris* from below was brought up and thrown over the side, and the between-decks were swabbed dry and clean. The Second Officer reported that all the stores in the hold had been turned out of their places, a great portion of the bread, flour, sugar, etc,, was found to be damaged, and many of the pork and beef casks stove in; sad news for us in our situation!

In the evening Captains Stapleton and Doughty, with the troops and crew, left the *Runnymede*, and came on board the *Briton*, it being feared that the former vessel might go to pieces during the night in the surf, as the gale was still blowing, there was a heavy

sea on, and she was farther out on the edge of the reef than the *Briton*.

Having now been joined by our comrades of the *Runnymede*, I am enabled, through the kindness of her Commander, to introduce here a short account of the dangers she had encountered.

The Barque *Runnymede*, under the command of Captain Doughty, sailed from Gravesend on the 20th June, 1844, bound to Calcutta, with the following detachments under the command of Captain Stapleton, 50th Regiment :—

10th Regiment.—37 privates, 2 women, and 1 child.

50th Regiment.—Ensigns Venables, Du Vimal (?), and Purcell ; 105 privates, 11 women, and 13 children.

Total.—4 Officers, 142 privates, 13 women, and 14 children.

Dr. Bell, the surgeon of the vessel, was in medical charge.

Their voyage had been throughout more than usually unfortunate, as they had met with nothing but light or contrary winds. The passage had been delayed so much beyond the average that many of the stores were expended, and the water and other stores running short it had been deemed advisable to bear up for Penang, at which port the ship came to anchor on the 29th of October. Having filled up her water casks and taken in the necessary supplies, she stood to sea again on the 3rd of November, the weather being fine and moderate, and continuing so until Friday, the 8th, when it assumed an unsettled appearance with heavy squalls.

On Saturday, the 9th of November, the wind was variable and squally ; the fore-topmast-staysail split and they bent another ; at 2-30 P.M. on the same day they reefed the mainsail; the second fore-topmast-staysail split during the night, owing to the heavy squalls.

On Sunday, the 10th of November, the Barometer was falling, and they experienced a strong gale and heavy squalls. At 5 A.M. they took in the main and fore sails, and close reefed the topsails. The gear of the former sails gave way.

At 6 A.M., the wind was South-West, and blowing very heavily, so

they took in the fore-topsail and brought the ship to the wind under the close reefed main-topsail, and main-trysail.

At noon, the sun was obscured; the Latitude, by dead reckoning was 11°-6', N., Longitude 96°·0' E., wind, South-West, Barometer 29°, and falling.

At 1 P.M, the fore and main-topsails were taken in, and the ship was under the main-trysail only.

At 2-30 P.M., the fore and main-topgallant masts were blown away; the wind was South, and blowing heavily. The main-trysail was torn to atoms, and the ship was under bare poles, laying beautifully to the wind with the helm amidships; the hurricane was increasing, with much rain.

At 4 P M., the wind came from the South-East with terrific force. The hatches were all battened down. The starboard quarter boat was washed away.

At 6-30 P.M., it fell nearly calm, the wind backing round to the South-West, and the sea going down. The Barometer was 28° 45', They kept the ship away North by East and got the topsails re-secured parts of them having blown adrift.

At 8 P.M., hollow gusts of wind came and they brought the ship to the wind on the larboard tack.

At 8-15, the hurricane was blowing as heavily as before.

At 8-30, the larboard quarter boat was torn from the davits and blown across the poop carrying away the binnacle and hencoops.

At 9 P.M., the gale was, if possible, increasing. The foremast broke in three pieces. carrying away with it the jibboom, starboard cathead, main and mizen topmasts, and the main yard, leaving the main and mizen lower masts alone standing.

At 10 P.M., the wind and rain were so severe that the men could not hold on to the poop, they were therefore employed in baling the water out from the 'tween-decks, having been forced down the hatches. The ship was still tight and proved herself an excellent seaboat. The pumps were attended to and drew out the water forced down the hatches.

Monday, 11th.—The hurricane continued with equal severity, the wind being South-East. Barometer 28° 0′. The gusts were so terrific mixed with the drift and rain, that no one could stand on deck to man the pumps or clear the wreck. The starboard bower anchor was hanging only by the shank painter, and as the iron work was knocking into the ship's side the chain was unshackled and the anchor cast adrift.

Noon.—Latitude by dead reckoning 11° 6′ N., Longitude 95° 20′ E. No observations had been taken since the 7th. The Barometer began to rise a little. The hurricane still raged in gusts and the ship was perfectly unmanageable from her crippled state, but rode like a bird over a confused sea running from every point of the compass. A large barque with topmasts and main yard gone drifted past them, and a brig totally dismasted was seen to leeward.

At 4 P.M., the Barometer had fallen to 27° 70′, and the mineral Sympiesometer left the index tube. The hurricane blew with terrific force. The front of the poop to leeward, the cabin door, and skylights, were blown away, and they expected every moment that the poop would be torn off. The severity of the wind was beyond description, there was nothing to which it could be compared, for unless present, no one could conceive the destructive power and force of wind, crushing everything before it as if it were a metallic body.

At 8 P.M., there was no abatement in its force. Every one, soldier and sailor, did all in his power to keep the ship free of water. It was impossible to stand at the pumps, and the water being principally in the 'tween-decks, it was bailed out by the soldiers, as far as possible.

At midnight the hurricane raged with equal severity. The gusts were awful, and the rudder carried away.

At 1-30 A.M., on the 12th, they felt the ship strike, and considered the destruction of the vessel and the loss of their lives certain. But it pleased Almighty God to decree otherwise, for although the ship filled up to her lower beams with water, she was thrown so high on a reef that all the force of the water was broken and smoothened, and the bilge pieces keeping her upright, she lay comparatively

quiet. Not knowing their position, the ship being bilged, and fearful of her beating over the reef into deep water again, they let go the larboard bower anchor, and the water shortly after leaving her, all hands fell asleep.

At daybreak the force of the hurricane had lessened, though there was much rain. The Barometer rose slowly until it stood at 29° 45' They saw the line of the shore to leeward, the ship being nearly dry aft.

With the increasing light they saw, inside of them, up amongst the trees, a large barque with troops on board. An officer and twelve men were sent over the stern to communicate with her.

At 7 A.M., the tide not serving, orders were given for the men to land at the next low water, and, if possible, to get something cooked, for, as no fire could be kept alight during the hurricane, the sailors and troops had had merely a biscuit and a glass of rum each since its commencement.

At 3-30 P.M., the tide having fallen sufficiently for the men to wade on shore, the officer returned on board and reported the vessel inside the reef to be the *Briton*, from Sydney, with soldiers of the 80th Regiment under the command of Major Bunbury bound for Calcutta, and short of everything.

All hands, soldiers, women, children, and crew had left the wreck by the evening. The Barometer was falling slightly, and the weather looked very threatening, so, by great kindness on the part of the people there, the men from the *Runnymede* were accommodated on board the *Briton*, and though they were in great misery themselves the newcomers were received with every kindness and hospitality. They were much pleased to hear of there being a fair stock of provisions on the *Runnymede*, (particularly of biscuits and flour) which, if the weather continued moderate, were to be landed for the benefit of both ships, Major Bunbury taking the command of all.

I will now continue my account of our joint doings on the Island.

Wednesday, 13th November, 1844.—Fresh breezes with occasional showers. Captain Doughty, with the crew of both ships, returned to

the *Runnymede* to endeavour to save as many stores as possible. Another sail was spread across the fore part of the *Briton* for an awning, as the ship was very much crowded with the addition of the 187 men from the *Runnymede*. Two warps from the fore and main mast heads were made fast on shore, and the fore yard was got over the starboard side to shore the vessel up, and to prevent her falling over. By an observation this day, we found the Latitude to be 12° 1′ N., and the Longitude 93° 14′, E., which proved us to be on one of the Islands of the Andaman Archipelago (?). The wet clothing and blankets were brought up to dry, and lines were rigged fore and aft to hang them on. A fatigue party commenced making a causeway through the mangrove swamp to the shore. The Commanding Officer issued a Detachment Order, placing the crews of the wrecked ships on the same footing with the troops, and subjecting them to Military law.

Thursday, 14th.—Moderate wind, with fine weather. All hands busily engaged in drying their clothing and getting up the damaged provisions from the hold. We found that most of the cabin stores were destroyed, and our crockery and glass broken. Three carpenters went on board the *Runnymede* to put her long boat, (the only boat remaining sound in the two ships), in a proper state to proceed to the nearest port to report our situation. The carpenter's mate was employed in cutting a large hole through the larboard side of the main deck to admit air, and act as a means of communication with the shore.

The bodies of two natives found on the beach were buried by our people, and above them in the bush lay parts of the wreck of a country boat. Several of us, both officers and men, are laid up with swollen feet, the result, no doubt, of the constant exposure to wet. This afternoon the causeway through the swamp to the shore was made passable, and some excellent prawns were brought in, a most comfortable treat.

Friday, 15th.—Fatigue parties were employed in putting the hold to rights, drying the provisions, and cleaning down the decks, while others were sent on shore in search of water.

The destruction caused by this fearful hurricane appears to have extended all over the island; not a leaf was to be seen on the trees, nor was a tree unbroken; they lay about in all directions, some crushed down, others torn up by the roots, many of them of the largest size, and probably 100 years old. The bush was rendered almost impassable by canes and bamboos lying many feet deep, and it was only by walking along the fallen timber that one could get through at all.

The Detachments of the 10th and 50th Regiments were sent on shore this day, and formed an encampment for themselves on a rising ground facing the beach, it being feared that from the over-crowded state of the ship, some disease might break out.

At low tide a fatigue party was employed in conveying stores from the *Runnymede* to the *Briton*, and in the afternoon the cooks were sent on shore to erect the coppers saved from the *Runnymede*, as we feared they might set the deck on fire if used on board, on account of our having no proper means of fixing them there. Some pigeons were shot, much resembling in appearance the English brood bird.

Saturday, 16th.—All the married soldiers from the *Briton* were sent on shore to rig tents for themselves and their families, and air ports were cut in the 'tween-decks to give as much ventilation as possible. Fatigue parties were employed in bringing stores from the *Runnymede*, clearing away the bush around the shore, and searching for fresh water. Some of the officers went on an exploring party along the beach to the northward, and found fresh water and an oyster bed, and shot some more pigeons. Two of the sailors commenced making a canoe out of a log.

Sunday, 17th.—Divine Service was held on board the *Briton*, and we all returned thanks to Almighty God, and read the forms of prayer for the preservation of our lives.

Some natives made their appearance on the shore to the southward, and a few of them tried to surround two sailors who were collecting shell-fish, but "Jack" was not to be done. An officer went after the savages with a small party, but as soon as they saw him coming

they put off in their canoe. We found their fire, and close to it a piece of drift wood and some fish bones.

Fatigue parties were employed in digging holes and cutting a communication between the ship and the shore.

The Commanding Officer issued a Detachment Order complimenting both troops and crew on their cool and manly conduct during the gale, and noting his high approval of their exertions.

At night some natives attempted to approach the *Runnymede*. A few shots were fired in their direction, when they took their canoe and themselves off at the same time.

Monday, 18th.—This morning a Detachment Order was issued. in which it was regretted that the natives should have been fired at on the previous night from the *Runnymede*, and directing that every attempt should be made to conciliate them, in order to induce them to bring in provisions, etc., and forbidding the men to go too far from the camp.

A Detachment Court-Martial assembled on board the *Briton* for the trial of some men charged with insubordination, and pilfering from the cargo of the *Runnymede*, a large portion of which consisted of bottled beer, etc.

The Doctors having reported "that the position of the *Briton* in a mangrove swamp would prove injurious to the health of the troops if they continued to occupy it as a barrack or hospital," two Companies of the 80th Regiment were ordered on shore to clear a place and form an encampment; and the sick, under the charge of one of the Surgeons, were transferred to the *Runnymede*, which, having now become finally embedded in the sand, was converted into a hospital.

Fatigue and working parties were employed in conveying stores from the *Runnymede*, carrying water from the hills, and clearing the bush around the camp.

Tuesday, 19th.—Fatigue and working parties were employed as usual. In the afternoon we had our first parade. Our appearance, as may well be supposed, was rather ludicrous, the greater portion of the men's necessaries and clothing having been either lost or

destroyed during the gale. Four courts-martial were held, and as many men punished, for insubordination, etc., an unpleasant but necessary duty.

Wednesday, 20th.—Fatigue parties were employed in collecting and drying the stores, erecting tents, and clearing away the jungle around the encampment. Our Pioneers' tools were found exceedingly useful, and we could never have managed without them. The rest of the troops left the *Briton*, and joined the camp, the guard over the stores alone remaining on board. The miasma arising from the swamp at low tide, being found disagreeable and unhealthy, most of the officers commenced erecting tents for themselves on shore.

Thursday, 21st.—Fatigue and working parties were employed as usual, and all the stores were collected together on board the *Briton*, preparatory to their being examined by a Board of Survey.

Some of our men, while searching for shell-fish this afternoon on the beach, opposite the camp, were attacked by several natives, and four of them were wounded by their arrows, one rather seriously; the alarm was sounded, the men stood to their arms, and a party was despatched in pursuit of the savages, but without success, the black rascals escaping into the jungle, luckily for them, or they would certainly have got a Roland for their Oliver.

A guard was mounted in the evening on the beach below the camp to keep them at a respectful distance. The natives were perfectly naked, regular savages in both appearance and habits, and no doubt cannibals; there is little prospect of our receiving any assistance from them. With the exception of wild pigs, several of which had been seen, the island appears to be quite unproductive, neither fruit nor vegetables of any description having been as yet discovered.

Friday, 22nd.—A Board of Survey assembled on board the *Briton* to examine into the state of the stores saved from the wrecks, and to report on the most suitable scale of issue, calculating for 40 days from date. After taking an inventory of the provisions, etc., and ascertaining that 378 full rations, allowing one-half for the children, would be required daily, the Court recommended the

following scale for alternate days, which was approved of by the Commanding Officer :—

1st day—½ lb. bread, ½ lb. beef, ½ gill of spirits, 1½ oz. tea, and ½ oz. sugar.

2nd day—½ lb. flour, ½ lb. pork, ¼ pint peas, ¼ oz. coffee, ½ oz. sugar, ½ gill of spirits.

Even this reduced scale would only last for 36 days, till the 27th of December. On our first arrival on the island we had occasional dishes of prawns, crabs, and other shell-fish, but they soon disappeared from the number constantly searching for them. For two miles around the camp the coast was completely cleared of every description of shell-fish, and to go further, or even so far, without arms, was not safe on account of the natives.

A private of the 80th Regiment died in hospital of dysentery, a disease rather prevalent, and most probably caused by the water which has a disagreeable vegetable flavour.

Saturday, 23rd.—The *Runnymede* long boat was nearly ready for sea, and the men were employed in collecting stores for her, and making preparations for sending her away.

Natives were seen on the opposite island with two large canoes.

Sunday, 24th.—Divine Service was held on board the *Briton*.

Natives came close to the ship collecting pieces of wreck, nails, and iron hoops; two of the men were sent towards them with an old jacket, as a present, to see if it would be possible to conciliate "Blackey." They placed it on a broken stump and retired a short distance, making signs to the natives to take it; the black rascals immediately took the jacket down, trampled on it, and commenced an attack on our men in return for their kindness, but seeing some of their comrades who had been sent to watch their motions coming up with their arms, they made off and took to the bush, leaving part of a bow and a bundle of arrows behind them. They seem perfectly to understand the meaning of fire-arms, making off the moment they see a person with them, while they are equally ready to attack those who chance to be unarmed.

The coast is strewed in every direction with wreckage, and we

found this evening part of a chest-of-drawers, and the top of a washing stand, belonging to some strange ship. I fear many others must have suffered besides ourselves.

The long boat is finished, and is to be launched on to-morrow's flood tide.

Monday, 25th.—The long boat was launched from the deck of the *Runnymede* at 12 o'clock this day. A gang was employed carrying stores and water off to her.

At 5 P.M., Captain Hall, and Lieutenant Leslie of the 80th Regiment, (the bearer of the despatches), the boatswain, and five sailors, embarked on board of her, and within an hour afterwards *The Hope* (an appropriate name for her) got underweigh amidst the cheers of hundreds, and took her departure from the island accompanied with the best wishes and fervent prayers of all for her safety and success.

Tuesday, 26th.—*The Hope* was not in sight at daylight.

Three of the officers, while strolling on the shore after dinner, sighted a wild hog; they contrived to get between him and the bush unperceived, but the moment he winded them away he went, a charge of shot and ball flying after him as he passed each in succession; one of the bullets lodged in his head, which bothered him a good deal, and sent him staggering amongst the logs. A small King Charles spaniel, the favourite of the Regiment, who happened unfortunately to be of the party, rushed amongst the logs and seized the hog by the ear, while one of the men ran up with a large stick to despatch him, and not observing the little dog in the dusk he accidentally struck poor little Billy on the head and killed him on the spot; the regret at poor Billy's fate was universal throughout the camp, and small as our rations were, we would sooner have lost a day's supply, than our favourite dog. The hog when brought home weighed about 80 lb., and had large tusks. The meat proved nearly as hard and tough as his hide, which was half an inch thick; however, tough as he was, we were right glad of such a valuable addition to our scanty rations.

Some natives were encamped close to the spot where the hog was

killed, and the moment the shots were fired they left their fire, set up a yell, and fled into the bush.

Wednesday, 27th.—The carpenters came on shore from the *Runnymede* and commenced erecting a tent and workshed, and making the necessary preparations for laying down the keel of another boat. Working parties were employed in clearing around the encampments and making a road to the ship.

Thursday, 28th.—Fatigue and working parties were employed in clearing out and deepening the wells, which are beginning to fail.

Several of the officers left the ship, their tents on shore being completed, and the miasma arising from the mangrove swamp being very disagreeable at low water.

Beautiful shells of various kinds are to be found on the beach and we were a good deal amused at first to observe some of a similar description to those we had been accustomed to see quietly ornamenting chimney-pieces at home running about here in every direction.

Friday, 29th.—Working parties were employed as on the previous day. The carpenters' tent and workshed was completed. In the afternoon the keel of the new boat was cut in the jungle.

Saturday, 30th.—General parade for muster. A fatigue party brought in the keel of the new boat from the bush. One carpenter, one master, four sawyers, and a blacksmith from the detachment of the 80th Regiment were ordered to assist in building the new boat.

Sunday, 1st December, 1844.—Divine Service was held on board the *Briton* as usual. The carpenters were employed in making moulds, and constructing bellows for the forge; the frame being made of ½ inch plank, with the Pioneers' aprons for sides, and part of a gun barrel for the nozzle. The sawyers were sinking their pit. The blacksmiths were making a forge.

Large fires were seen on the North Island, and the natives seemed very numerous.

Monday, 2nd.—Working parties were employed in clearing and deepening the wells and water holes. The bellows were finished. The sawyers were collecting spars and bringing them in to their pit. The blacksmiths got the tiller of the *Briton's* rudder for an anvil,

and the copper bolts out of her stern ports to make nails with, not having a dozen left.

The sailors' canoe, which was nearly finished, took fire in the night and both her gunwales were burnt down.

Tuesday, 3rd.—Regular morning parade was held at 7 A.M., thus commencing the day; the guards mounting immediately afterwards. The wells and water holes are failing fast.

Two officers went in search of water and found a running stream under the hills about a mile from the camp, and very difficult of access owing to the denseness of the jungle. The bush was fired in several places to clear the scrub off. Two native canoes were fishing on the opposite island. The keel of the new boat was laid down, 23 feet long. The sawyers and blacksmiths commenced work. The sailors cleared off the burnt part from their canoe and set about planking her sides, as the only way to repair the damage.

The fires blazing at night in front of the various camps and picquet tents give the bay quite the appearance of a village.

Wednesday, 4th.—Heavy rain fell during the night, and filled the wells and water holes. All the tents were leaking, being mostly made from old canvas. The short rations and heavy fatigues began to tell on the men. The shore is covered with them, at each low tide, searching for shell-fish. A bag of black pepper, landed from the *Runnymede*, was most acceptable, the shell-fish in the men's weak state disagreeing with many of them.

Thursday, 5th.—All hands engaged in repairing and improving their tents after the rain. A General Order appeared directing one bottle of beer per diem to be issued to each of the carpenters and other artificers employed in building the boat.

Friday, 6th.—Several men were admitted into hospital with fever, and affections of the head. A Detachment Order was issued "Prohibiting the men from bathing in the heat of the day, or otherwise exposing themselves in the sun."

Some wickerwork canoes covered with tarred canvas were made by the soldiers, who paddled about, and fished in the bay in them.

Saturday, 7th.—The sailors finished their canoe and launched it

in the afternoon, finding it answered better than was expected after having been so much damaged by the fire.

Sunday, 8th.—Divine Service was held as usual. The canoe brought in a cargo of fine oysters from the bed to the northward. We observed a great many pig tracks in the sand. A soldier of the 80th died in hospital from brain fever.

Monday, 9th.—The *Runnymede's* men got a spar over her quarter and lashed it to the mizen mast to shore her up. The heavy surf causes her to bump aft more than is agreeable. Quite a fleet of canoes are to be seen in the bay, fishing and paddling about.

Tuesday, 10th.—A large fish, of about 20 lb. weight, resembling a snapper in appearance, was caught by one of the mosquito fleet, and found to be both coarse and hard when cooked.

Wednesday, 11th.—The encampment is quite gay, every tent being decorated with a numerical or distinguishing flag, and the effect is very good, the bay, from the *Runnymede*, forming a very pretty view.

Thursday, 12th.—The canoe was out fishing at the North Island, but without success. The men saw two turtles on the water, and brought home a few large mussels and other shell-fish.

Friday, 13th.—We repaired and pitched the canoe, got a large sail made for her, and put on wash boards, a false keel, and stern post, which improved her very much.

Saturday, 14th.—A party of officers went to the northward and crossed over to the other island in the canoe. They saw a wild beast in the bush, of the panther species. They found several bundles of pigs' heads tied with cane and laid together in heaps, and some stones suspended from the branches of a tree by rattan, which they supposed to be some religious ceremony of the natives. A quantity of excellent oysters were on the rocks so they made a fire and dined off them.

Sunday, 15th.—Divine Service was held as usual. *The Hope* haa been gone 20 days to-day. The present rations are to be reduced from to-morrow to one-half, which will be all but starvation diet,

and little or no shell-fish are now to be found within miles of the camp.

At about 11 A.M. we had two heavy shocks of earthquake. The *Briton* shook so violently that all hands ran up from below fearing she would fall over. The last shock had scarcely subsided when a shout was heard from the look-out tree on the right of the camp where the men had of their own accord established a sentry, relieving each other every hour. A sail! a sail! was quickly echoed from one end of the encampment to the other. The *Runnymede* hoisted her ensign and fired a gun, (a signal for "a sail in the offing," already agreed upon). The camp was in a regular commotion, shout following shout with little intermission, and everyone was on the look-out, asking "Where"? "Where"? and straining their eyes to get a glimpse of the stranger. Within a quarter of an hour she had rounded the point and was visible to all.

At 1 P.M. she came to an anchor abreast of the *Runnymede* in 15 fathoms, the men cheering on shore while the ship saluted her with 12 guns. The whole camp was like a fair, the people hurrying and firing in every direction. The vessel proved to be a small schooner of 70 or 80 tons, with our old long boat, *The Hope*, towing at her stern. Our canoes went off and soon returned bringing on shore Lieutenant Michael, an officer of the 17th Madras Native Infantry, the bearer of despatches from Mergui for the Commanding Officer. From Lieutenant Michael we learnt the welcome news of the arrival of *The Hope* at Mergui, and the safety of our comrades. They had reached Mergui on the 6th, 12 days after their leaving this, and appeared to have suffered a good deal from the sun and fatigue, as the wind being either light or foul they were obliged to pull the greater part of the distance. Having reported our situation, etc., they were supplied with a lighter boat and proceeded on to Moulmein on the 10th, and the day after their departure the Officer Commanding at Mergui despatched this vessel, the Hon'ble Company's Schooner, *George Swinton*,* Captain Daniel in command, to our

* Mr. George Swinton was Secretary to the Government of India, in the Secret and Political Department, in 1824.

relief, with provisions which were more than acceptable, and caused great rejoicings. A half pound of biscuits and a glass of spirits each, as an extra, was issued to all hands to commemorate her arrival. In the afternoon a soldier of the 80th was unfortunately drowned in the surf while bathing.

Monday, 16th.—Blowing fresh, with a heavy surf on; no communication with the schooner; full rations were issued this day.

Tuesday, 17th.—A Board of Survey assembled on board the *Briton* to take an account of the stores from the *George Swinton*; which were found to consist chiefly of rice, ghee, tea, and sugar, with a small supply of meat, salt fish, and yams. The following scale was submitted by the Board, and met with the approval of the Commanding Officer.

Fresh meat ¾lb. or ⅔lb. of salt meat or fish; spirits, 1 gill; bread or flour, ½lb.; rice, ½lb.; peas, ¼ pint; yams, ½lb.; tea, ½ oz.; sugar, 1½ oz.

Peas are to be issued with salt beef or pork, yams with fresh meat or salt fish. A very great improvement on our previous scale.

The weather was still blowing and unsettled, and there was too much surf on for us to attempt to get off to the schooner.

Wednesday, 18th.—Weather more moderate. The *Runnymede* cut away her mainmast to make her ride easier on the surf. *The Hope*, which had been towed back to us by the *George Swinton* was brought on shore, and her deck ripped off to land the provisions from the Schooner.

A Brig was in sight to the southward, and the *Runnymede* hoisted her ensign and fired a gun in hopes of attracting her attention, but she passed without observing us. She is supposed to have been a country vessel. One boat load of provisions was landed from the Schooner in the afternoon.

Thursday, 19th.—Parties were employed in landing provisions from the Schooner and stowing them on board the *Briton*. The daily ration being so much improved, the issue of spirits to the women was stopped from this date. (!)

Friday, 20th.—The remainder of the stores were landed from the

Schooner and stowed in the *Briton*. Melons, limes, pumplenose, and other seeds, which had been planted by the officers in different parts of the island, are coming up well, and may prove a benefit hereafter to some other unfortunates like ourselves.

A soldier of the 50th died in hospital of brain fever.

Saturday, 21st.—Several of the officers went off to the Schooner to take a cruise in her to the other island, where she was going for water. It came on to blow and she could not get underweigh, so they were obliged to fill casks for her on shore from one of our wells. The carpenters commenced putting in the ribs in the boat. Heavy rain during the night.

Sunday, 22nd.—Divine Service was held as usual. Blowing fresh with a heavy surf on. No communication with the Schooner. The poop awning on board the *Briton* was blown away, and the cuddy filled with water.

Monday, 23rd.—Weather still wet and squally, and a heavy surf running. Fatigue parties were employed filling water casks on the beach for the *George Swinton*, repairing the causeway leading through the mangrove swamp to the *Briton*, and clearing out the wells. The ration of the men was reduced from $\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per diem.

Tuesday, 24th.—The bottom of the new boat was finished, except for the caulking. The Schooner's jolly boat was swamped in the surf while taking off two water casks. Our long boat went to her assistance and towed her alongside the Schooner. The blacksmiths are making the rowlocks for the boat, and pintles for her rudder. We hope to launch her in a day or two.

Wednesday, 25th.—Christmas Day. Divine Service was held on board the *Briton*. The Schooner took her departure for Moulmein, Lieutenant Michael of the 17th Madras Native Infantry bearing despatches from the Commanding Officer. The tents were decorated with green boughs, etc., in honour of the day. No roast beef, but although our sugar was gone we contrived to have a very good plum pudding without it. One must not be over particular in the Andamans.

The carpenters finished the caulking of the boat, and gave her

a first coat of paint. A sailor of the *Runnymede* was drowned in the surf by the upsetting of the dingy.

Our new boat is getting the flooring boards, stern sheets, and fittings in. Flies and mosquitos are very numerous and excessively troublesome. When we were first cast away on this island we found but few flies and mosquitos, they must have been blown away by the storm; we are now infested with myriads.

The jungle has altogether changed its appearance, the leaves coming out quite green, and many of the numerous periodical plants are a very beautiful sight. The snakes are also more numerous, several having been killed in the camp. A small sucking pig was shot this afternoon by one of the sergeants. He saw the mother and the rest of the family, but they got away into the jungle.

Friday, 27th.—All our schemes to catch fish having failed, as a last resource we got a large wicker-work pot to set outside in deep water with a line and weight. The weather is very warm.

A tablet was engraved on the rock near our burial ground containing the names of some of the soldiers who died on the island, etc.

At night large fires were lit round the camp to burn off and smoke out the mosquitos. A rocket was fired in the offing.

Saturday, 28th.—At daylight a Man-of-war Brig, and two small Schooners were in sight. The Brig stood on to the southward, the Schooners, rounding the reef, came to anchor in the bay, and the boat was sent off to them and returned with the news that they belonged to the Hon'ble Company's Marine. The Schooners, we found, were two of the flotilla from Moulmein, and the Brig-of-war, the *Pilot*, Captain Jervis.

Mr. White gave us the welcome intelligence of the safe arrival of the rest of the regiment at Calcutta, as also that Transports from Moulmein were on their way to take us off the island.

Our new boat was launched at 12 o'clock, and christened in due form "Andaman." She is 27 feet over all, 6 feet 6 inches beam, and pulls six oars. She went through the surf beautifully and appears to be an excellent sea boat.

The *Pilot*, Brig-of-war, came to anchor on the side of the island

and sent her cutter round to us with Lieutenant Leslie, (who had gone away on the *Hope* with the despatches), some fresh meat, and vegetables.

At night we lighted a large fire on the right of the encampment as a beacon for the Transports, should they come in sight during the darkness.

Sunday, 29th.—One of the Schooners and the *Pilot's* cutter proceeded to the Northward to join the Brig.

About noon the *Ayrshire* Transport arrived from Moulmein, and brought up in the bay. Captain Jervis and three of his officers came round in the gig and pinnace, bringing all sorts of supplies. They dined with us and it was quite a gay day, every one being in high spirits. We had, this evening, our first supper on the island in honour of our kind friends on the *Pilot*.

Monday, 30th.—A division of the 80th Regiment commenced embarking on board the *Ayrshire*. Captain Jervis, with his gig, returned to the Brig, leaving the pinnace to assist in the embarkation.

A soldier of the 50th Regiment died to-day of fever.

The Transport *Elizabeth Ainslie* from Moulmein arrived this afternoon, and came to anchor near the *Runnymede*.

Flies and mosquitos are fearfully troublesome, there is no sleeping at night on account of them. It is quite time we were away from these barbarous shores.

Tuesday, 31st.—Her Majesty's Ship *Pilot* came round from the northward and brought up in front of the encampment. We commenced embarking the heavy stores on board the *Elizabeth Ainslie*.

At 4 P.M., the *Ayrshire* Transport sailed with the First Division of the 80th Regiment.

Wednesday, 1st January, 1845.—New Year's Day, and our 51st on the Island. The Second Division of the 80th Regiment embarked on the *Elizabeth Ainslie*.

The officers dined with their kind friends on board Her Majesty's Ship *Pilot*. Numerous native fires were seen on both islands, the black rascals eagerly looking out for our departure to pillage the wrecks.

Thursday, 2nd.—At daylight the Transport *Elizabeth Ainslie*, with the remainder of the 80th Regiment, sailed for Calcutta.

Natives collected in great numbers on both islands.

The Schooner's gig, manned by lascars, while pulling along the reef was pursued by five canoes. The *Pilot's* cutter went to her assistance, when the canoes pulled back to the reef and made off.

The 50th Detachment strengthened their camp guard, and placed extra sentries.

Friday, 3rd.—The Transport *Agnes Lee*, arrived from Moulmein.

The sick soldiers, women, and heavy luggage, were embarked in the course of the day. At night the natives came round the camp in great numbers, and fires were seen in every direction. A picquet was sent out to drive them back, and fired on a party moving in rear of the tents, when they decamped and put out their fires in a most extraordinary manner, every trace but a few chance embers disappearing as if by magic.

The *Pilot* despatched two boats to pull along the shore in front of the camp, and afterwards sent two shots and a shell flying amongst a large body of savages collected round a fire a short distance to the left of the *Briton* Finding the place too hot for him, "Blackey" showed his sense and took himself off, nor did he make his appearance again that night.

Saturday, 4th.—The remainder of the detachment of the 50th Regiment embarked in the *Agnes Lee.* At night the natives again assembling in and around the camp, the marines of the *Pilot* were landed to protect the wrecks. Several shots were fired during the night.

Sunday, 5th.—The last detachment of the wrecked troops, after a sojourn of 55 days on this most inhospitable island, sailed this day for Calcutta in the *Agnes Lee.*

The voyage was most prosperous, the several ships reaching their destination within a few days of each other. The detachments of the 10th and 50th Regiments proceeded on to Chinsurah by steam, while the detachment of the 80th Regiment landed in Calcutta and took up their quarters in Fort William.

Thus happily terminated one of the most trying and disastrous shipwrecks on record.

How apparent throughout were the kind and merciful acts of Providence. Two transports from opposite quarters of the globe were lost on shore within a mile of each other, each possessed of stores, etc., which the other was deficient in, thus mutually affording that assistance which was most required. Had the vessels been separated, or wrecked on different islands, in all probability how different would have been the result; how fearful the loss of life, had not the hand of God been mercifully extended towards us!

None would have been left to tell the tale of their comrades' fate and sufferings. Six hundred and twenty souls are cast on a most inhospitable and proverbially unhealthy island, short of every description of provision and comforts, exposed to heavy fatigues under a tropical sun, constantly wet for the first fortnight while landing stores through the surf from the *Runnymede*, scantily clothed, badly fed, and pestered and annoyed by savages; yet wonderful to relate, during the 54 days they remained on the island only seven adults and a few children died, scarcely a common average! What may not indeed be accomplished by British soldiers and British discipline in times of trial and difficulty such as these. In that short space of time a considerable portion of the dense jungle was cleared from around the encampment, wells were sunk, a work-shed, sawpit, and forge were erected, and a boat, capable of carrying 25 persons, completed. Also those who may hereafter visit the spot will find a tablet in a rock at the head of the bay on which is engraved the names of four British soldiers of the detachments of the 50th and 80th Regiments who died on the island, and are buried near this shore where they were shipwrecked on the 12th November, 1844. The tablet was erected by their comrades in January, 1845.

These islands appear to be but little known and very incorrectly surveyed. Holding out no inducement to trade they are seldom visited by shipping. Fruit and vegetables are not to be found, the water is in general bad, and difficult to procure. The soil is, however, remark-

ably fine, and no doubt, if cultivated, tropical fruits and vegetables might be produced in abundance.

The rocks bordering the island are of a soft description of sandstone, while the beach and west rocks are coral formations.

Before taking our departure we christened it Briton Island, and the anchorage Runnymede Bay. Latitude 12° 4′ North, Longitude 93° 14′ East., by observation.

Calcutta, January, 18th, 1845.

NOTE.—As will be seen from the above, the *Runnymede* was driven on shore about a quarter of a mile from, and to the southward of, the *Briton*. She was driven on to the reef, stern foremost, and was not carried over it as the *Briton* was. Consequently, nothing is now, after a lapse of 50 years, to be seen of her remains.

The reef extends an eighth of a mile from the rocky shore, and is dry at low water. It appears now to be bare, with three tiny islets of sandstone rock, covered with trees, standing on it, but this bareness is probably owing to the fact that the wrecked people cleared away the mangrove swamp then existing.

The remains of the *Briton* are now lying on the reef, at the mouth of a creek and mangrove swamp, and small mangrove trees have sprung up on and round them, but there is no doubt from the description, that, when the ship was cast ashore, a large mangrove swamp existed, into which she was tossed by the cyclone wave.

The ships were really wrecked on John Lawrence Island, but at that time, and indeed until 1880, Kwang Tung Straits were unknown, and John and Henry Lawrence Islands were believed to be one Island joined near the narrow strait at Garen-Lébar.

The description given of the state of the jungle after the cyclone will remind those who were in Port Blair in November, 1891, of the state of the jungle round the Settlement then.

The *Panther* seen by the officers was probably a specimen of the *Paradoxurus Andamanesis*.

No trace of the tablet mentioned in the above account can be found, though the steps cut in the rock, leading up to where the encampment

of the detachments of the 10th and 50th Regiments was, are still visible. The Andamanese state that the jungle was extensively cleared, but it has now entirely covered the land again, and no specimens of the fruit trees and vegetables planted by the people have been seen.

The Andamanese, in their stories of the wreck, assert in their usual boasting way that they were continually fighting with the soldiers, and that they killed very many of them. They also state that, as soon as the ships were cast on shore, they went on board and fought the soldiers, driving them back, and taking every thing they wanted.

They certainly looted the wrecks after the parties had gone, taking the iron but leaving the brass, and all that is now left is, three anchors, some twisted ribs, pieces of the keel, numbers of brass bolts, and the ship's ballast, which appears as a mere heap of stones rising slightly above the level of the swamp.

Before approaching the occurrences which led to, and the documents which relate to, the formation of the present Penal Settlement in Port Blair, we have now only to consider "Wanderings in the Islands of Interview, (Andaman), Little and Great Coco." Pamphlet, Moulmein, 1850; and this is considered, not on account of its value, for it has none, but on account of the mischief it might have done by misleading the public, and especially Dr. Mouat's party in 1857.

To quote the publication in full would occupy more space than can be afforded to such an absurd production, and the following extracts only are given, from which the value of the remainder of the story can be estimated.

The author, Mr. Quigley, appears to have been a gentleman of Moulmein, who, some time prior to, or in, 1850, went across in a sailing vessel to the Andamans to obtain wreckage, and to the Coco Islands to get cocoanuts. He writes of "the great rise and fall of the tides at the Andamans," the extreme difference between high and low water at spring tides being only about nine feet; of "the blue gum trees on the islands," none of which exist; of the quantities of coconut trees on Interview Island, which also do not exist; of the friendly nature of the aborigines with whom he professes to have become on the most

intimate relations almost from the first, (a most dangerous statement, and one likely to lead to the massacre of trusting voyagers); of the success which attended his cultivation of the date palm of the Andamans, (which notoriously will not grow in so damp a climate), although he could not have been long enough on the islands for the seeds to germinate; of the tigers and leopards, not one of which is on either the Andamans or Cocos; and of the mild, healthy, equable climate.

He asserted, *inter alia*, that the Andamanese do not care for iron, and would readily pick up old iron from some wrecks which were at Interview Island and give it to him, because they thought he wanted it; the real fact being that there is nothing for which the Andamanese are so greedy as for iron. Mr. Quigley's object in writing such a pamphlet cannot be understood. The form of its publication forbids us to suppose that he intended it for a novel, and I cannot think that he would wilfully mislead the public, and cause people to endanger their lives by going to the Andamans and landing freely among the aborigines, trusting to his account of their friendliness.

Dr. Mouat rightly describes him as "a modern Munchausen," but there can be no doubt that the Government of India, and the Court of Directors, were misled by Mr. Quigley's account of the Islands, which they had no reason for disbelieving, and that they were unable to reconcile his statements with those of the first Superintendents of Port Blair, and under-estimated the difficulties of forming the Settlement. Dr. Mouat, indeed, went to Interview Island in the hope that, judging from Mr. Quigley's statements, he would find the aborigines there more friendly disposed than the others elsewhere had been. His account, given later, will show how he was undeceived.

The Andamanese have no remembrance of Mr. Quigley's visit, and he probably did nothing more than merely touch at the South end of Interview Island, when, finding how hostile the aborigines were, he proceeded to the Cocos where he passed the remainder of the time he was absent; unless indeed he was one of the people in the *Sea Serpent*, which vessel twice visited Interview Island in 1849 and 1850 in order to salve the remains of the ship *Emily* which had been

wrecked there in 1849. If this was the case he would appear to have some reason for speaking well of the aborigines; and the facts related in the following extract, (if true), which is all the information I can obtain on the subject, would, if known to Dr. Mouat, entirely justify his confidence in the Interview Islanders, and his hope of establishing friendly relations with them.

"AN OLD TALE OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN MONSOON."

Reprinted from the June, 1883, Number of *Our Monthly*, a magazine published in Rangoon.

In the year 1849, before the setting in of the South-West Monsoon, the Brig *Flying Fish*, Captain Shaw, from Madras, put in to the Coco Island, which is situated at the North end of the Andamans, for the purpose of obtaining water. There were two passengers on board, Messrs. Birch and McKnight, who were emigrating to Australia, *viâ* Singapore, and they were struck with the beauty of the island. The features of the coast, covered with coco and other trees, appeared so charming in their eyes that they abandoned the idea of proceeding to Australia and resolved to settle on the island. Into this view Captain Shaw heartily entered, and gave every assistance in aid of the undertaking, and further promised to supply the settlers with goats, pigs, fowls, geese, ducks, and also plants and seeds suitable to the climate. On the island there were no animals, excepting rats, but the bays were found to abound with fish of various kinds, and turtle. The trees on the island were of the finest description, and its soil of good quality; in some places clay was to be had fit for making bricks, and in others it consisted of a fine light rich loam, which promised well for cultivation. Water was found by digging wells at a depth of six feet, at a short distance from the shore. This island had, from time to time, and from year to year, been resorted to by the inhabitants of Tenasserim and Arracan during the North-East Monsoon, for the purpose of collecting the coconuts that are so plentiful, and also employment was found in building canoes from the wood oil trees which attain a large size, but not apparently to such large dimensions as those that grow on the mainland of British Burma. As regards

this island as a place of shelter for ships that experience bad weather during the South-West Monsoon, a nautical friend of ours, many years since, wrote the following which is as applicable in the present day as it was in the past.

"I need hardly remind the mariner of the importance of this port of shelter, in the South-West Monsoon, where he can refit his ship without the necessity of bearing up for Calcutta or Moulmein, and any loss of spars can be replaced for the trouble of cutting the trees. Two ships from Arracan with rice found shelter here from a three days heavy south-west gale."

It is as well in connection with this to draw attention to the directions for entering the North Bay. "Coming from the Westward, give Slipper Island a good berth, as rocks extend from the points a considerable distance, and when the *town* is well open, steer in for the flagstaff until Shaw's Nose, a prominent rock, bears East-South-East, and Birch Point West-South-West, and you can anchor in seven to nine fathoms water. Ships coming from the North East can round Table Island at half a mile distance, and anchor off the town with the flagstaff bearing South-West in 8 to 12 fathoms water. No ship should venture to pass between Slipper Island and the Coco without a commanding breeze, as the rocks extend a long way from each side and there is a heavy race of 4 to 5 knots across the channel. The rise and fall of tide is 5 to 6 feet at springs, and sets to South-East and North-West six hours".

Bidding the two adventurous immigrants farewell, and promising a speedy return to the island, Captain Shaw set sail and in due course reached Moulmein. The North-East Monsoon had not died out but the South-West Monsoon was approaching with rapid steps. Notwithstanding this fact, the flourishing accounts given by Captain Shaw, in which he thoroughly himself believed, obtained ready listeners, and some few were speedily inoculated with the Coco emigration fever. At the period of which we write Moulmein was in a highly impecunious state. Its merchant princes were not above borrowing money in the bazar at from 2 per cent. per mensem upwards, and the foresters were paying considerably more interest to carry on their operations in the

forests, or to save their timber that had arrived at Kado from being sacrificed to pay various debts incurred. The buyers of piece-goods from the European importers were lax in the payment of their promissory notes when due, doing so by driblets, and there was no help for it apparently, for the agents and firms gave in to the purchasers, and the European assistant became a daily bill collector, and could be seen day after day, passing from shop to shop armed with his promissory note book, and rejoicing if he could help fill his cash bag with unwillingly given instalments of small sums, where thousands of rupees had long been overdue. In those days there were no banks and accommodation from natives meant ruinous interest. Amongst high and low impecuniosity reigned, so the glowing accounts of the Coco Island induced a few to make up their minds to try their fortunes on it.

It was not, however, until the South-West Monsoon had set in, that Captain Shaw started with his small batch of emigrants from Moulmein on board of the *Flying Fish*, he having, we believe, made an intermediate voyage. It is needless to say that the emigrants were not of a class likely to succeed in such an adventure as they had heedlessly entered upon. The very fact of their leaving their homes to proceed to a place where they would have to build for themselves shelter in the height of the rainy and inclement season, clearly demonstrated their ignorance of the hardships they would inevitably incur.

At about the middle of the month of July, 1849, the *Flying Fish* arrived with the emigrants at her destination. Instead of putting into our own words that which took place on their landing, and what occurred at the outset during the month of July, we shall place before our readers a small portion of the journal kept by one of the emigrants, which speaks for itself as to the incapacity of the settlers. We commence at a place in the journal the most fitting, as that which precedes it can interest no one. There is no date to this extract, but the extracts which follow each other give the days on which the words were written down.

"At sunset we got underweigh, bound directly to the Great Cocos, where we arrived on Saturday, with the wind, (plenty of rain),

from the southward, and having worked through the Moscos. We here found Mr. McKnight sick, and heard that Mr. Birch had gone over to the "turtle place" to get turtle and eggs, they being hard up for everything. McKnight, Shaw, and myself went ashore, it was rather dark to make out anything; but on entering Birch's house everything presented a gloomy appearance. On landing I fervently offered up my prayers in secret, that He who watches all our actions would bless us and prosper our present undertakings. We returned on board with McKnight who slept there, and on the following morning, Sunday, the 15th July, some of the crew, Shaw, Stewart, and self went on shore to help McKnight to clear away the hill in front of his house which he is building; had breakfast and dinner on shore and then went on board to sleep. While at dinner we were joined by Birch, to whom I was introduced by Shaw.

"18th July.—Shaw left us, taking all our good wishes with him and a speedy return to us all; we all went on board to see him off, and he took us out some distance. Birch, McKnight, and James went in the small boat, which Shaw had left us with two lascars for Stewart and family. The immigrants now on the island may be enumerated thus—Stewart, his wife and child, Birch and McKnight, self, wife and three children. Ma Mentha, and son, and her sister. There are several other Burmese who have come here merely for the purpose of gathering coconuts. I ought to mention that my wife's mother, and four Burmese came with us for the same purpose, but I think I never came across a more disobliging people before, they all had a free passage here, but not a hand stir of work will they do to assist any of us. Birch, Stewart, and myself made up our minds to go out catching fish with the root of a tree which is found abundantly here, and had proceeded some distance when we altered our minds, (Birch having first informed us that it was only an hour's good walk) to visit the turtle place, but to my regret or sorrow, I found it took us the whole day, however we returned home and had at one time every prospect of sleeping in the jungle."

"19th July.—A vessel passed.

"21st July.—Stewart and self went over in the long boat to the

Table and Slipper, the breakers were running high, and Providence appears to have directed our little craft amongst the rocks, which we did not perceive until low water, after having gathered a quantity of coconuts and heaped up 53 or 54, we launched the boat on to the flat and loaded her. We then had to wait until the tide made with our knees up in the water; coming on dark and squally looking from the southward. Launched the boat during one of the lulls and began pulling over; were met by the race, (anything but pleasant), never wish to be in another. Arrived safe at home.

"22nd July.—No work, every one reading, what I don't know.

"23rd. July.—Stewart and self went up to the Table Hill, so I call it because there is a splendid tableland on the top of it. We made up our minds to build our houses on the top of it and cut a path down to the foot.

"24th July.—Went up with Stewart and commenced clearing away, he taking the right hand, and self the left hand; found plenty of briars and thorns.

"25th July.—Went with Johnny out fishing, caught enough to last Stewart and self for two days. After breakfast, Stewart and self, with Birch and three hands, went to Table Hill and cleared away. Two vessels passed.

"26th July.—This day commenced gloomy with every inclination to rain, and so it did: throughout the night it rained excessively. No work. A brig passed this morning, standing South-East.

"27th July.—Morning rainy, throughout rainy and miserable weather. The waterman *pretended* sick, made him turn to and work, found nothing the matter with him. Oiled my gun—my wife washing! McKnight very ill and delirious towards night.

"28th July.—This day fine weather throughout. Lizzy laid up with sore eyes and fever. Little Harry sore eyes. McKnight still very ill. Self laid up with sore legs.

"29th July.—Fine throughout the day. We made up our minds to go as far as the small island on South-East part of the island, but soon afterwards altered our minds and had a stroll to the "Well" and proceeded to visit the plantains, but could not get there on account of

the mud. McKnight has been ill all day, and towards the evening he felt himself so much worse that he entirely gave himself up. The evening of this day was rainy.

"30th July.—Fine weather this morning. McKnight much better, went up to the Table Hill and cleared away a little more of the jungle. Waterman sick, I went myself to the tank and fetched a pitcher of water, *necessity has no laws.* Evening fine, but a miserable looking sky.

"31st July.—Rainy all night. Daylight commenced with fine weather which continued until about 5 P.M, when it began to blow from the South-West with rain. Lizzy, I may say, well; Margaret with sore eyes, and a little fever on her. Harry and Moggy sore eyes, the latter feverish, my wife's mother very ill. The waterman pretending sick refused to give him rice. I ordered him to the tank to get water, he took the water pot up and went his way. Soon after whilst I was walking on the beach going up the hill, I saw my water pot just about high water mark, and the *bird* flown away; gave chase after him but lost all traces of his footprints. In the evening heard he was at my wife's mother's hut eating rice. I went there immediately and remonstrated with him, he went back to his own hut. The cook has had an attack of the fever and ague during the day, when he got up he complained of a severe headache. Margaret and I cooked the breakfast and washed up the articles. Went up the hill for a few hours and cleared away the jungle."

The island had now got its full complement of settlers, for we have not heard that any one else after the landing of the Moulmein party joined them in their rash undertaking. The few extracts of the journal we have made are evidences of the folly of those, who, taking their wives and families to such a place, ran headlong into all kinds of misery, from which the survivors were rescued through the falling out of certain circumstances that happened, and which we propose to relate. The many months the settlers were on the islands were months replete with agony to the residents, sickness at first and ultimately want, amounting to starvation, adding to the misery. No wonder

several of them fell a prey to despondency which in some cases almost amounted to mental derangement. Some of them died, and those who were rescued from that fate were brought away from the island in an utter state of destitution, emaciated in body, and almost silly in intellect. The state in which the survivors were found was so deplorable, that, had not timely aid been rendered, there is little reason to doubt that the whole of them would have succumbed, and the island would have become a sea-washed graveyard.

It will be seen by referring back that Captain Shaw left the island in the *Flying Fish* after landing the emigrants on the 18th July, 1849. To what port he was bound from thence we do not know, but it was his intention to visit the island at intervals to take stores to it, and to keep up communication with the mainland at the different parts of the Bay of Bengal to which he traded. We have no information upon which we can state positively that he revisited the island, but our impression is that he did not do so, being prevented by the turning over of his vessel when on a voyage from the Nicobars, loaded with coconuts. News certainly did not reach Moulmein as to the state of the settlers on the Cocos until the close of the South-West Monsoon of 1849, and that came about in a most extraordinary manner.

Before we speak of the circumstances of the wreck of the *Flying Fish* we have to relate what occurred to a vessel called the *Emily*.

On the 1st September she was totally wrecked on the Andamans, and had it not been for this mishap, the probability is that the settlers on the Coco Island would all have perished miserably. Instead of giving a summary of the account of the wreck of the *Emily*, we think it better that the Commander of that ill-fated ship should speak for himself, as we have before us his narrative of that unfortunate occurrence, containing particulars well worth reading, and also the account of his reaching Rangoon with a portion of his crew in an open boat. From thence he came to Moulmein, and the authorities sent the H. C. S. *Proserpine*, Captain Brooking, to the scene of the disaster.

The letter of Captain Anderson of the *Emily* is addressed to his owners, and we now direct the attention of our readers to it, for it will amply repay perusal.

CAPTAIN F. ANDERSON'S ACCOUNT.

"I regret to have to announce to you the total loss of the ship *Emily* on one of the small islands lying to the west side of the North Andamans, in latitude by account about 12° 50′ N.

"The night was dark and rainy, with heavy passing squalls, and had been so for three days previous, so that no observation could be obtained by either sun, moon, or stars, during that time. But previous to that, by good observations, I was 200 miles to the North-West of all the Andamans, the ship laying South, and South by West, the most of the time. I also made an allowance for currents to the East, North-East of 25 miles daily, but that, it appears, was not sufficient, as I fully anticipated passing to the Westward clear of all the islands not less than 70 miles. The sad disaster took place at 4 A.M., on the 1st day of September, notwithstanding two look-outs on the forecastle, and one on each gangway at the time, still the low island was not seen until the ship was just amongst the breakers. The ship at the time being under single reef topsails, reef courses, jib and mizen. I saw immediately there was no room for the ship either to wear or stay. I then had all sails clewed up, and the best bower anchor let go in 20 fathoms with 70 fathoms cable, which brought the ship up for a time. The main mast was then cut away, which took with it the mizen topmast, as I thought at the time the ship might ride it out if they were all cut away. But the mainmast had not been over the side many minutes, when a terrific squall came from the westward, which made the ship drive stern on to a barren reef, which appeared to surround the island about ¾ of a mile off shore, with smooth water inside of it from four to six feet deep. I next had the chain slipped, so that she might drive further on and make a bed for herself, as she was striking very heavily, and the sea making a complete breach over her fore topmast head. She bilged and filled forward almost immediately, her head being down in deeper water. A raft was then con-

structed with a view of saving our lives, and put over the side after the tide had fallen considerably, but the first man that went on was washed off immediately, however, he being a good swimmer was saved by reaching the shore. The warp that the raft was fast by broke, and the raft itself taken out by the breakwater (? backwater) through the surf and out to sea.

"The next day the pinnace was brought in tackle over the rail, Mr. Hosburgh, Chief Officer, Syrang, two seacunnies, and five lascars got in with some bread, clothing, etc. The boat was lowered the moment a little smooth came, and they all reached the shore in safety, but not without steering the boat amongst the rocks. The next day the long boat was got over the rails in the same manner, a few bags of bread put into her, compasses, charts, nautical instruments, chronometers, muskets, pistols, gunpowder, log book, ship's papers, some clothing, etc, but owing to so many of the crew rushing into her before they were told, one of the tackles fouled, and being let go before the other, three heavy seas came at the time and swamped the boat alongside, five men were washed ashore, four drowned alongside, and the remainder hauled on board by ropes. Everything was washed out of the long boat and she drove amongst the rocks. There was only now one small boat left which I attempted to land with the next day, taking with me two Europeans, the carpenter, and three seacunnies. I wished Mr. Allhusen, a passenger, to come with me, but he declined, saying, "we would never reach the shore," although I had at the time every confidence we would. I also took with me some sheets of paper, nails, pump leather, oak'um, pitch, and other articles to repair the other boats with. We waited for a little smooth and lowered away. The first two seas that followed we got over very well, but the third came and turned the boat completely over end, and leaving us all struggling in the surf: however, the men were all washed ashore alive, whilst myself and one European were taken out by the breakwater, (? backwater), through the surf again, right under the ship's stem where we both succeeded in getting hold of ropes that were thrown to us, and were handed on board more dead than alive. I was about a quarter of an hour in the water, and unable to swim, I

had on one of the safety swimming belts which saved me. Everything in the boat of course was lost, and the boat by the breakwater, (? backwater) taken out to sea. About three hours after this, it became low water, and one of the Europeans volunteered to try and reach inside the breakers with a small line, which he succeeded in doing, but was almost gone. Two or three lascars followed to assist in hauling any of us on shore. I wished all the Europeans to go before me, but none of them seemed willing to do so. Mr. Allhusen said he would follow me if I would go first, which I did; I lowered myself down by the mizen boom end, keeping hold of the line that communicated with the shore, and when the first heavy sea came plunged into it; by the time the third one came I was among the rocks but quite helpless; the men that were on shore came and saved me, my strength was completely gone. Mr. Allhusen followed me and got also safe on shore, so did Joseph Moffat, apprentice; but I regret to say Robert James Burn, apprentice, was drowned in the attempt.

"No more could be done that night, as the ebb was flowing fast. Next day, the remainder came, with the exception of Mr. Simpkin, Second Officer; who preferred remaining on the wreck to running the risk of being washed on shore. After getting inside the breakers and smooth water we had to walk three quarters of a mile over coral rocks to reach the beach, the water being three and four feet deep; this on our bare feet, having nothing on but shirts and trousers. It was awful, like walking over so much broken glass; we got cut and mangled about the feet and legs dreadfully, and I have not been able to walk since.

"We had not been many hours on the island before the native savages came down upon us with their bows and arrows, one of the arrows passed within three inches of the boy Moffat. We had nothing to defend ourselves with, but we all got large sticks and held them up like arms, which I suppose the savages took them for, as they returned to the bush shortly after. We, at the time, being about thirty of us on the beach, making the best show of our number. I think they were afraid to attack us until they could muster a stronger force.

No doubt, they went away for that purpose and would likely have come down upon us during the night had we not immediately set to work to get the long boat and pinnace patched up as well as we could—fortunately a sheet of copper off the ship's bottom was washed on shore and with it we stopped a large hole in the pinnace, otherwise I do not know how we should have got off. About 9 P.M. we were ready for launching the boats, and having previously picked up a few pieces of pork and beef which had been washed on shore from the long boat, divided these, giving each boat in proportion to its crew, but it was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade any one to come into the pinnace with the exception of Mr. Allhusen and two of the Europeans, every one wanting to go in the long boat, I suppose because the pinnace was small and very leaky, constantly requiring three men to keep her free of water. At last I got into the pinnace with Messrs. Allhusen, Frederick, Urquhart, and Joseph Moffat, three seacunnies, three lascars, and the carpenter. Our eatables and drinkables consisted of one piece of beef and pork, and an oil tin containing four gallons of water. Mr. Hosburgh, Chief Officer, at the same time got into the long boat with the remainder of the crew, having with them six or eight pieces of pork and beef, a few pounds of wet biscuits (the remainder of a bag that had been washed out of the long boat), and a few gallons of water which they had in the pots handy; both boats then started to leave that inhospitable island.

"We pulled along the shore inside the breakers looking for an opening to get out of, but did not succeed in finding one that night. At about two o'clock in the morning the tide fell, and left both boats dry on a coral reef. Here we lay till daylight, when we fortunately discovered a small opening through the breakers, about the breadth of a ship, where the sea only broke occasionally. We then parted company as we could not be of the slightest assistance to each other. Our boat drawing less water than the long boat floated sooner and got out first; from that time we saw nothing more of the long boat. I had told Mr. Hosburgh I should try and make the Cocos Islands, and for him to do the same, if possible. This, however, I did not succeed

in, not having any compass to steer by nor any nautical instrument to take an observation with. The same evening it came on to blow and rain heavily, so that we knew not which way we were steering, with a boat so leaky that we could scarcely keep her free, and having only three oars and a lascar's blanket as a substitute for a sail, our situation was anything but pleasant, having no clothing and covering but what we stood in. The next morning we found ourselves in amongst small islands which I took to lay at the north end of the Andamans. We were among these islands for four days, trying to get a landing place upon one of them, which, as they were mostly surrounded with breakers, it was difficult to do ; at last we succeeded in getting on an uninhabited island, having only a pint of water left. We hauled the boat up on the beach intending to stop that night and get some rest. We went in search of water and fortunately found it a very small distance in the bush, although rather brackish it was very acceptable. We then got everything out of the boat, with the intention of trying to make her a little tighter the next day before starting again, and had just got a resting place made for the night under some trees, when a Brig was discovered coming round the island. This cheered us up considerably, the boat was immediately launched, everything put into her with the exception of our remaining piece of beef which in the hurry was forgotten. We pulled and sailed after her for upwards of an hour and got within a mile of her when they saw us and hove to, which was a joyful sight to us all, but this was only for a short period as after she had laid to for about ten minutes, sad was our disappointment when we saw her square her yards, set her fore-topsail and lower studding sails and go away and leave us, although only half a mile distant. No doubt they were afraid we were pirates coming from one of the cannibal islands. I steered after her until darkness hid her from our view. It was the more annoying as the only morsel we had to eat was left on the shore where the current would not allow us to return. This caused a great depression to our spirits; however, there was nothing now left but to try and reach the Burma coast, which was steered for as near as we possibly could, but owing to almost continual rains, sun, moon, and

stars were seldom visible, which made it difficult to steer anything like a straight course, the wind being what we principally went by. I always steered the boat myself the whole of the night from the time we left the wreck until we reached the coast, in case of any of the stars coming out that we might know we were steering something like the proper course. In nine or ten days after the brig leaving us, we made land.

"The crew, with the exception of Mr. Allhusen and myself, appeared to suffer a great deal from hunger by this time, and some of them almost gave up, but fortunately next day we discovered two or three huts and landed, but found them deserted. We took possession, got a fire on, stripped and dried our clothes and went in search of something to eat, and found some pumpkins, cucumbers, and a few shellfish which were devoured with a great relish. We left these huts on the third day, launched the boat, and steered along the coast to the eastward as I still thought we were to the westward of Rangoon. The same afternoon we saw an entrance into a small river, when we pulled six or eight miles up and discovered a village inhabited. We landed and found the people very kind, they gave us fish and rice to eat, and made us two large fires to dry our clothes, it having been raining in torrents the whole day: we rested here three days. We abandoned our boat, she being too leaky to venture to sea again, and agreed with these people to bring us on to Rangoon for the sum of Rs. 120, as they told us we were still about 40 miles to the westward of the latter place; we came on in inland passages through rivers and creeks, and arrived there twenty-two days from the wreck. We received the kindest hospitality from Captain and Mrs. Crisp, and Captain Brown."

This ends the narrative of Captain Anderson, which no one can read without a feeling of admiration for the noble seaman, who, throughout all the difficulties, dangers, and disappointments with which he was beset from the day of the wreck of the *Emily*, never lost his presence of mind, never gave way to despondency, but under the most perverse and discouraging circumstances bravely fought his

way, and at the last, resorting to the worse boat of the two which had been washed ashore, without compass or any nautical instrument, with only three oars in the boat and a lascar's blanket for a sail, and latterly without food, kept up the spirits of the few companions he had with him and so reached the coast of Burma. He even offers an apology for those on board the Brig, who deserted him when within half a mile of his boat, by giving them the benefit of the supposition that they might take him for a pirate, when they squared yards and sailed away.

As regards those who were in the long boat we have never heard any more, what their fate was we are quite ignorant, but of the Second Officer who refused to leave the vessel, further on particulars will be given.

We now turn our attention to Captain Shaw, the Commander of the *Flying Fish.* To his return to the Coco Island, the settlers thereon were, in the months of September and October, anxiously looking forward, inasmuch as their stores had begun to fail, and those procurable on the island only consisted of turtles, turtles' eggs, fish and coconuts. Besides which they were suffering from fever, dysentery, and other complaints, brought on by a mode of life they had been unaccustomed to, and being subjected to the inclemency of the season, and living in dwellings that were mere hovels, their spirits became depressed, and despair succeeding to discontent they became more like an unfortunate shipwrecked party, than immigrants who had landed to make a new home.

In the month of October the *Flying Fish* was completing her lading of coconuts at the Nicobars, it being the intention of Captain Shaw to proceed from thence to Moulmein, and, after discharging the cargo at that port, to revisit the Settlement that he had founded. He set sail from the Nicobars in October and immediately experienced very bad weather. The Brig commenced making water, which gained upon the pumps so rapidly that she in a few days became water-logged. This had the effect of making her so crank that there was nothing left but to put her before the wind, for the slightest

deviation from that plan caused her to heel over; so that with every slight change of wind her course had to be altered. Night and day her Commander had an anxious time of it, and all hands had to be constantly on the alert. This continued for a day or two. The morning of the 15th October arrived, and at about 2 o'clock the catastrophe came. All of a sudden she gave a lurch and turned over. The crew who had behaved well and obeyed the orders of their Commander were horror-struck at this sudden disaster, and gave vent to their feelings by a yell of despair, for they thought that their hour had come; but they were soon animated by the warning voice of their Commander who checked their fears by assuring them that there was no fear of the vessel sinking, as the cargo, consisting entirely of coconuts, would keep her from doing so.

It is a singular fact that not a life was lost when the Brig capsized; and the crew, when they heard the cheering voice of their Commander, recovered from their momentary panic and scrambled aft on the bilge of the ill-fated vessel. On that quarter of the *Flying Fish* which was immersed in the sea the vessel's gig was made fast to the davits, but it fortunately happened that a sampan was on the quarter that was above water. This sampan, a day or two before, Captain Shaw had been busy in rendering serviceable in anticipation of her being useful in case of accident. In her were tools, nails, and canvas, which had been left there the day previous to the event that we have described. The vessel had turned over at 2 A.M., but so soon as day dawned on the group of mariners who were clinging on the bilge, Captain Shaw set to work with them to continue the necessary work of making the sampan seaworthy.

Another fortunate circumstance had occurred which raised the hopes and spirits of the mariners;—this was that two casks of water were found in the waist of the vessel which was uppermost. These casks were not damaged when the vessel turned over. Had it not been for this favourable event the unfortunates would have been without water. In the course of this eventful day Captain Shaw ordered some of his crew to make an attempt to release the gig which was under water. This most difficult job was effected by the men

employed in it diving to the depth of about 14 feet and cutting the ropes that fastened her adrift. The boat rose to the surface, was secured by the swimmers, and brought alongside the sampan, which, before the day closed, was rendered serviceable by nailing a canvas bulwark round her. Captain Shaw and his crew then left the ill-fated *Flying Fish* and steered for Narcondam; this place was reached in about 28 hours from the time the Brig was deserted.

A more inhospitable place than this Narcondam could not well be devised by nature, yet Captain Shaw and his crew managed to survive on it certainly in a most miserable condition, for all they had to subsist on was what they managed to pick up on the beach. Captain Shaw, before the accident had happened to his vessel, had been suffering from fever; now he became dangerously ill from exposure and the want of proper food. The only covering he and his crew had to protect themselves from the inclemency of the weather was the boat turned upside down, the sides being banked up with sand. But the weather was wet, the sand was damp, and their sufferings from the cold they experienced were extreme. Everything depended on one man, and that was Captain Shaw. By his coolness and adaptability of circumstances to the end, he had succeeded in saving the lives of all those who were with him when the Flying *Fish* capsized, and had with them reached *terra firma*, but here they were in a place where all would likely perish from sickness or starvation. Feeling then that the lives of these were dependent solely upon his exertions, he determined to make an attempt to reach the Cocos—a distance of about 70 miles from where he was. Having been 18 days at Narcondam, he started on the 3rd of November on his little voyage on the sampan, accompanied by his Syrang and a few lascars. He left the gig with the remainder of the crew on Narcondam, urging the men to be of good cheer and not to despond; for, if he reached the Cocos, their safety would be assured. He ran a great many risks on his passage to the Cocos; he was frequently in great danger, for on many occasions the sampan was nearly being swamped. However, escaping these perils, he sighted the Coco Island, and then made it. Instead of arriving at a flourishing Settlement,

and receiving a warm greeting from his friends, he found the Schooner *Sea Serpent* there just on the point of sailing for Interview Island to recover what could be saved from the wrecked *Emily* which had been sold for the benefit of the concerned at Moulmein, and had been purchased by the owners of the *Sea Serpent*. Had Captain Shaw arrived a few hours later he would have found the island deserted, excepting by a few Burmese. He and his men went on board the *Sea Serpent* and, in December, arrived safely at Moulmein from Interview Island, the vessel having been very successful in saving things from the wrecked *Emily*.

As regards the men left at Narcondam, the following extract shows how they were rescued. It is a report from Captain Forsyth of the ship *Manchester* who arrived in Calcutta from the Straits :—

"On the 27th November, close in with the North side of Narcondam Island, picked up a boat with one seacunnie and four lascars belonging to the brig *Flying Fish* of Moulmein; they reported there were six men on the island—sent a boat on shore and brought them off.

"By their report the Brig was lost on her passage from the Nicobars to Penang somewhere to the westward of Barren Island, on or about the 17th October. Captain Shaw after living on Narcondam 18 days, left for the Cocos in a Chinese sampan, taking with him one seacunnie, the Syrang, and four lascars, promising as soon as possible to send a boat for the remainder of the crew.

"On the 28th November, I went on shore at the Settlement on the north-end of the Cocos, and found that Captain Shaw had arrived there but had gone to Moulmein along with the Englishmen who had been living there. They had proceeded thither on board of a steamer a few days before I arrived. This intelligence I received from the Burmese who are staying on the island to collect coconuts."

The above information has but one error in it as regards Captain Shaw. The steamer *Proserpine* had heard nothing of Captain Shaw, when Captain Brooking, her Commander, put in at the Cocos, and, after he returned from the scene of the *Emily's* wreck,

brought away the survivors of the settlers. This is easily accounted for as Captain Forsyth got the particulars from the Burmese, and there may have arisen some confusion from the difficulty of imparting the news correctly. However, it is not quite clear, for we do not know on what day Captain Shaw arrived at the Cocos and found the *Sea Serpent* there and on the point of departure. The probability is that the *Manchester* put into the island after the *Sea Serpent* had left, and her Commander failed in learning from the Burmese that she had ever been there.

We have mentioned the *Proserpine* steamer, and as we have told our readers of the perilous escapes of Captain Shaw, and of his having arrived safely at Moulmein, it is now the proper time to go a wee bit back to relate what was done when Captain Anderson of the wrecked *Emily* arrived there and informed the authorities of the misfortune that had overtaken him. Very little time was lost after the news came to hand, and H. C. S. *Proserpine* was ordered to proceed to the scene of the disaster with all speed. Captain Brooking, being a Commander who never let the grass grow under his feet, started from Moulmein on the 20th October, and as his report gives particulars of not only what he did at the wreck, but also of his calling in at the Settlement of the Northern Cocos, we now place it before our readers. Captain Anderson accompanied him and was of great assistance.

Dated Moulmein, 29th October, 1849.

From—Captain BROOKING, Commander, H. C. S. V. *Proserpine.*

To—Major BOGLE, Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces.

"I have the honor to report the return to this place of the H. C. Steamer under my command, and also that the vessel will be again ready for sea after completing fuel, after, I regret to state, an unsuccessful search among the Andamans, and islands adjacent to the Andamans, for the missing portion of the crew of the late ship *Emily.* The particulars relative to the search are as undermentioned.

"I further regret having to report that, on visiting the Northern Cocos, I found the then remaining settlers in great distress, one-half

of their original number having fallen victims to fever, and the remainder, from the effects of that malady and starvation, in so reduced a state as to be unable to leave their houses in quest of food; under these circumstances, added to their imploring that I would take them off the island, I determined to call for them on my return from Interview Island. I sent them supplies, with medical assistance from the Surgeon, and proceeded to the South.

"20th October, 1849.—At 7 A.M., having completed coal, had steam up, cast off, and in accordance to an order, No. 280, from Major Bogle, Commissioner, proceeded with all despatch down the river, towards the Andaman Islands, in search of the missing portion of the crew of the wrecked ship *Emily*, Mr. Anderson, late Master of that vessel on board by order.

"Wind of moderate power. West-south-west, cloudy weather. Barometer 29°-98′. 10 A.M., rounded the reef buoy of Amherst; threatening appearance at South-west, heavy southern swell. Barometer 28°-0′-0″. Sea on, ship labouring heavily. Barometer 29°-95′. The weather still continuing to look threatening, deemed it advisable to return to port. Bore up and returned to the anchorage off Amherst, sent second cutter under charge of Mr. Rean, second officer, up the river to make enquiry from a schooner which had arrived from Rangoon, if any intelligence of the missing parties had reached that place. Midnight.—Fresh breeze from the South-west. Cloudy weather.

"21st October.—At 11 A.M., Mr. Rean returned from town, not having gained any intelligence of the missing party. 5 P.M., the flood having slackened, weighed and proceeded; fine weather and sea gone down.

"22nd October.—Steaming towards the Northern Cocos. Fine weather.

"23rd October.—At daylight sighted the Northern Cocos bearing South-west, steered for the Settlement on the North end, called in but could gain no information of the missing men, found the settlers in great distress, sent supplies and medical assistance, they imploring to be taken off the island; promised, if possible, I would call on my

return and take them away. Proceeded to the South close outside the Western reef, along the edge of the breakers, examining the shore, with officers looking out aloft, but no signs of either boat or people. Then proceeded to the South Cocos, and succeeded before dark in closely examining that island in the same manner as above, with no success. Proceeded under easy steam for the night, stood towards Landfall Island.

"24th October.—At daylight stood in and examined Landfall Island, keeping, as yesterday, close to the breakers on the edge of the reef, but saw nothing. Stood on and examined the North-west coast of the Great Andaman. Owing to the incorrect survey of this coast was obliged to have the cutters ahead sounding on several parts of the coast, which added much to the anxiety and also to the work of the crew. This Island appears to be thickly inhabited by a hostile people, as the natives came armed to the beach watching our movements. At sunset recalled the boats; no signs of boat or people being seen this day, stood off and on under easy steam for the night abreast of a long low point. Saddle Mountain North-east by east.

"25th October.—At daylight continued the search from the point of last night's bearing, proceeding as yesterday, sounding in the boats ahead. 8 A.M.—Commenced the Northern end of Interview Island. Natives coming to the beach, armed as on the other Island, observed some with clothes on, supposed the same to have been stolen from the wreck, as these were the first seen with any one article of clothing on. 9 A.M.—Sighted the wreck. Natives very numerous on the beach, all armed. 9-30.—Stood close in and anchored ahead of the wreck.

"From the circumstance of the natives having all run into the jungle and no one being seen on board, feared that the Second Officer who was left on the wreck had met a violent death, which I am sorry to say was found to be the case on our boarding the vessel. Proceeded under cover of the steamer's guns with the first and second cutters armed, the former under charge of myself, and the latter that of Mr. Peche, Third Officer, taking with us Dr. Lawson, Mr. Anderson, and the European First and Second Engineers, prepared

in case any of the natives should be concealed on board, when to our horror we found, lying on the deck, the mangled remains of the late 2nd Officer (Surgeon's report on which is here attached), the ship plundered of every moveable article, and everything denoting wilful destruction of property. After being on board but a few minutes, the look-out man reported the natives collecting and approaching the wreck inside the reef she was then on; observed fires on the heights on the coast, which no doubt were beacons, as in an incredibly short space of time more than 200 natives had collected on the beach, all armed with spears, bows, etc., and as others were fast approaching from all directions with the main body moving towards the wreck, and judging from their gestures that their intentions were hostile, and that an attempt would be made to cut our party off as they now neared us to a very short distance, and others were observed lurking among the rocks close to the wreck, thought it advisable to disperse so large a body, so gave directions for Mr. Boan, First Officer, to open fire on them from the steamer, which was done, quickly and in good style. To show their daring not a man among them would move on the first round, but on the second round coming quickly and the shot falling fairly among them, a general yell was raised, and dropping their arms, they one and all took to flight. Our 24 and 9 pounders kept them at this pace for a long distance on the beach, and, as may be supposed, we were not again troubled by them. At sunset, having brought a few things from off the wreck, and having warned in writing, on several places on the wreck, any parties calling there to beware of the natives, weighed and proceeded to the North, all regretting that we had been unsuccessful in our search. Midnight cloudy. We observed several fires on the Island.

"26th October.—At daylight sighted the North Cocos, bearing North-east by north. Cloudy weather with much rain. 8-30 A.M.—Anchored off the North end of the Island inside the Table and Slipper Islands, and embarked the remaining settlers, consisting of twelve (men, women, and children), whom we found much benefited by the aid rendered them on our former visit, although many still too weak to be able to walk to the boats. 1-30 P.M.—Weighed and proceeded

towards the Preparis Islands; thick cloudy weather, with much rain. The weather having no signs of clearing, and the fuel getting low, deemed it advisable to return to Amherst direct, knowing also they would be safe on the Island as ships pass close to it daily. Arrived at Amherst at sunset on the 28th.

"In continuation of this report, I beg to point out the ready assistance at all times rendered by Mr. Anderson, whose anxiety for the missing crew was plainly shown by his never leaving the look-out at the mast head in all weathers, and I entertain the same feeling of hope with him that the boat and crew have most probably gone to sea, and have been picked up by some passing vessel, as we saw many openings in the reef where a boat could pass through in safety in any weather."

We have now seen in what a deplorable condition the settlers at the Great Coco were found on Captain Brooking calling at the island on his trip in search of the 21 missing mariners from whom Captain Anderson had parted when he left Interview Island on his perilous voyage in a small open boat. Of the settlers, seven died, including adults and children. One, Mr. McKnight, had previously been taken off the island by a vessel called the *Æneas* which had called there, and the remainder were rescued by Captain Brooking and brought to Moulmein. One of these, Mr. Birch, succumbed to the fever that he could not shake off; a few months after landing at that Port, the rest recovered.

The following remarks written at the period of the emigrants' return may prove interesting:—

"It would appear that the dwellings of the emigrants were low hovels, not raised from the ground, and consequently within reach of the malarian exhalations so destructive to human life. Situated there, with little or no employment, during the worst months of the year, fever and ague soon commenced their ravages; one after the other the emigrants were seized with the disease; the excitement consequent on landing at a new place gave way to gloomy forebodings; the novelty no longer existed, and when death came amongst

them, glad would they have been to exchange places with the veriest cooly in the Tenasserim Provinces. This is not the first expedition of the sort that has borne the same bitter fruits. Settlements have been tried on the Andamans, years since, and on other islands near them; expeditions in which every necessary and comfort of life have accompanied the emigrants, and in which nothing has been left undone to ensure success, but they have failed from the unhealthiness of the Settlements. How then was it to be expected that the emigrants of 1849 would be able to combat against the adverse circumstances that stared them in the face. No persuasion would stop them from proceeding to a place which was destined to be the graveyard of one third of the little party. Go they would, prepared or unprepared, and in a season which produced anticipations of the most gloomy description for their fate, amongst people who were not bitten with the emigrating fever, but whose anticipations have fallen far short of the painful reality.

"The life of man hangs but on a thread, and it is singular, but no less true, that sixteen lives have been saved from the circumstance of a vessel being wrecked on the Andamans,—we mean the *Emily*. When Captain Anderson was steering his frail boat for the coast of Burma, his thoughts were of those who like himself, were at the mercy of the waves. Little did he suppose that his providential escape would be the means of rescuing a number of his fellow-creatures from the jaws of death, whom he had never seen, but whose lot he, at the time he left the Andamans, wished to share for a time, or looked to the island for succour; and when he failed to reach the Cocos thought that his greatest chance of escape from death was taken from him. If he had succeeded in joining the immigrants, it is far from improbable that he and all on the island would have perished, as we should have been ignorant of their state, and the steamer would not have proceeded thither. Perhaps his only chance would have been to take to his boat again; but many circumstances might have occurred to render even that impossible.

"The island will present a most melancholy appearance to the next vessel that puts in there—the deserted hovels, the graves, and the

silence where once voices were heard, will chill the heart of the person who lands there expecting to meet a little group of enquiring settlers."

The writer of the above did not anticipate that a few years would demonstrate that the Andamans and Nicobars (!) under Settlements made by the Indian Government would prove healthy enough places to live in, both as regards Europeans and Natives from different parts of India.

In connection with this tale of disasters and rescues we have had occasion to mention the *Sea Serpent*, which Schooner made two trips to Interview Island to recover what she could from the wrecked *Emily*, and was so fortunate as to pick up at the Cocos Captain Shaw, on the day he arrived in the sampan, and after the island had been deserted by the settlers.

Captain Brooking of the *Proserpine* in his report relates how hostile the natives of Interview Island were, and that he had to use persuasion in the shape of 24 and 9 pounders. He left notices on the wreck warning future visitors to be on their guard, but the Commander and crew of the *Sea Serpent* found the natives very friendly indeed; they came down to the wreck and mixed with the crew of the Schooner, even assisting them in their work, and voluntarily returning articles they had plundered from the wreck, copper sheets among the rest of the loot being brought down to the beach and restored.

It was always thought that these islanders were cannibals, but they—at least those who came to the wreck—do not appear to have been eaters of meat either in its fresh or salted condition, as they did not feast on the Second Officer they killed on board, and although they broke open the casks containing pickled beef and pork, they simply contented themselves with throwing the pieces of meat about the deck and hold.

The following extract is worth reading:—

"The Second Mate of the *Emily*, it is very evident, was murdered, and that he, also, died surrounded by savages; here then was an opportunity for indulging in a cannibal feast if they were addicted

to such a propensity. The only part of the body wanting was the cap of the head which had been removed by a blunt saw and carried away, most likely as a trophy."

The savages had made away with all the biscuits and every bottle of liquor on board, amongst which were beer, champagne, sherry, etc., so it is not unlikely they consumed these and enjoyed themselves after their kind.

In a journal of a second voyage to the Andamans kept by one of those who was on board the *Sea Serpent*, we come across a passage in which mention is made of the docility of an Andamanese youth, and as it shows the friendly relations that existed between the islanders and the crew of the Schooner we have an excuse for inserting it here.

"29th June, 1850.—The natives of the island have made their appearance, and having seen us are approaching. We miss our old friend of the last voyage, but a youngster has come in his stead. We gave him some coconuts, and invited him to sit in the boat. He took the best seat, eyed the muskets in the boat, and laughed at them. Mr. Thomas Sangspee took up a cigar, struck fire from the musket, and began to smoke, when he laid hold of him by the arm and begged for a cheroot too. A Burmese cigar was handed to him which he lighted himself, and no Turk could enjoy his hookah with greater contentment. He seemed surprised at the manner the fire was obtained. He was well acquainted with the effect of a musket, and was not in the least alarmed at having one fired off near him, yet it excited his curiosity to know how fire was obtained by only throwing a little powder into the pan without a discharge from the barrel. It was explained to him, and he laughed at the explanation. This youth's body was scarified in horizontal stripes, the cicatrices of which were at least about half an inch in diameter. His body was daubed with *tushe* or red ochre. He had a shell attached to a string round his waist. The string was represented to me to be similar to those worn by the Nicobarians. The edges of the shell all round were very sharp, and formed their knife, as with it he very readily cut a coconut

that was given to him. The knife after this operation was taken from him by Mr. B. and thrown away, when he good-humouredly got out of the boat and went for it, and expressed by signs that it was of great use to him. Several other natives approached and looked on at the proceedings."

After all had been obtained that could be saved from the wreck she was left to her fate, and the natives after a time set fire to the hull for the purpose, we suppose, of getting at the iron bolts and screws. The *Flying Fish* was met with rolling about in the sea by more than one vessel; ultimately she stranded on the Cocos, and the Burmese there burnt her also, for the sake of the iron in her hull. This completes our tale, and that tale shows, from the various incidents related, how in real life circumstances are more or less connected and how dependent mankind is upon them whether for good or for evil. The misfortunes of many have an influence on the fortunes of others, and in the every day whirlpool of human existence "the unexpected happens" and, therefore, we should, under all trials, be thankful for what we receive, never despair but work on and hope for the best."

Notes on the above account.

The Coco Islands are situated to the North of the Andaman Group of which they form a geological continuation, the Coco Channel separating the two Groups; the distance from the North end of Landfall Island, the most northerly of the Andaman Group, to the South end of of the Little Coco is 22 miles.

Unlike the Andaman Islands, the Cocos are uninhabited, and are fringed with coconut trees, the collection of the fruit from which appears to have attracted Burmese traders for a long period.

The above account is especially interesting as being the first we have of any attempted settlement of Europeans on the Coco Islands. Since 1850 the Islands have been leased at intervals to speculators in coconuts and timber by the Burma Government, but the subsequent settlements have not been successful.

The Coco Islands were, until 1879, under the jurisdiction of the

Chief Commissioner of the Andamans, but in that year were transferred to the Burma Government, as the Light-house on Table Island is under the control of the Rangoon Marine authorities.

Messrs. Birch and McKnight's Settlement appears to have been on the Northern end of the Great Coco, and the anchorage for ships was in Marshall Channel where there is a strong current and bad holding ground. The settlers had had no experience to fit them for such an experiment, and indeed seem to have been specially unsuited for the life they selected.

The *Emily* was driven on shore on the reef fringing Interview Island near the South-western corner of that Island.

It is easy to understand the attitude of the Andamanese as described by Captains Anderson and Brooking, which was exactly what might have been expected, though they most probably took bottles of liquor for the sake of the glass and not on account of the spirits they contained, but the extracts from the journal of the traveller in the *Sea Serpent* are less easy of comprehension.

No account is given of the action of the Andamanese towards the crew of the *Sea Serpent* when they met for the first time, and we are not told what led up to the very friendly relations which existed on the part of some at least of the savages with the Europeans.

The description of the North Andaman style of tattooing and of the use of the *Cyrena* shell knife are too accurate to have been invented, or to have been observed had the Andamanese been hostile, and one is forced to conclude that the Andamanese were, for the only time on record before 1858, (except during the Settlements of 1790-96), on friendly terms with a few Europeans. Mr. Quigley's obviously fictitious accounts of the Flora and Fauna of the Island cast a doubt on everything he wrote, but he appears to have had some grounds for saying that the aborigines on Interview Island were well disposed towards strangers.

CHAPTER VI.

Murder of three seamen of the *Fyze Buksh* by the Andamanese—Decision of the Government of India to establish a Settlement on the Islands—The Aborigines were not to be harmed—Case of the *Fuen Gren*—Mr. Dalrymple's letter—Mr. Grey's letter—Captain Hopkinson's letter—Sir A. Bogle's letter—Mr. Haughton's letter, and the accompanying depositions—Despatch to the India Office, and Reply—Despatch to the India Office.

It would seem that, during the first half of the present century, no special precautions, by keeping Government vessels cruising in the neighbourhood of the Andamans, were taken, either to protect the aborigines from the cruelties of the Malays who kidnapped them, or, on the other hand, to protect inoffensive travellers who incautiously touched at the Andamans for wood or water from being massacred by the Andamanese. We hear, in 1855, of the *Sesostris* cruising at the Nicobars, and that within two years six vessels (one of which was commanded by an Englishman) had been cut off by "the mild and inoffensive Nicobarians," whose character was now being better understood.

On the 13th January, 1855, it was reported that three seamen of the *Fyze Buksh* of Moulmein had been murdered, and four others wounded, by the aborigines at the Andamans. The Principal Assistant Commissioner at Akyab notes that there are repeated instances of attacks by the Andamanese on the defenceless crews of ships.

From the following correspondence it would appear that the outrages committed by the Andamanese on ship-wrecked seamen were notorious, and had drawn the attention of the Government of India on more than one occasion, though the details of these I have not been able to obtain. They probably consisted, as did the outrages in later times, of the landing on the islands by sailors in search of wood or water, and their indiscriminate massacre, and the destruction of their boats, by the aborigines.

These papers also show that it was decided that the Settlement should be a Penal Colony, before the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny,

which actually delayed its establishment, although, when founded, mutineers were at first the principal prisoners there.

The idea of having a colony on the Andamans was entertained owing to the behaviour of the Andamanese, which, and not the Mutiny, was the sole cause of the country being occupied.

I have often heard it asserted that we occupied the Islands after the Mutiny in order to have some distant and safe place across the sea to send our rebels and criminals to, when in the state of the country it would not have been safe to keep them in India; and that the Andamanese have been killed off as a natural result of the occupation, and their country taken from them without their consent and for no fault of their own. But such was not the case. Long before the Mutiny the conduct of the Andamanese had made it imperative that the Islands should be occupied, and friendly relations established with the Aborigines, and this would have been done sooner had the Mutiny not broken out.

Further, both the Government of India and the Court of Directors, repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, ordered that the Andamanese were not to be injured, ill-treated, or allowed to suffer in any way from our occupation of their Islands, and when very occasional cases of improper behaviour towards the Andamanese occurred, the Government expressed their extreme displeasure with the parties in fault.

I would draw special attention to Captain Hopkinson's letter among the following documents quoted, as it is one of the ablest Minutes on the Andaman Islands which has been written. He foresaw difficulties, and advised the action which should be taken thereon, years before these actually occurred: he was in favour of the occupation of the Nicobar Islands simultaneously with that of the Andamans, a step which, however, for various reasons could not be taken until 1869; and of the annexation of the whole of the Andaman Islands, and not a portion only, which policy was carried out.

He advised that the new Settlement should be on the South-West part of the Islands, which is noteworthy, for it is only lately, when the opening out of the Settlement has shown us what the Islands are

like, that some hold the opinion that, good as Port Blair is as a site for a Settlement, yet that Port Mouat, the Labyrinth Islands, Mac-Pherson's Straits, and Rutland Island, would probably, both for sanitary and strategic reasons, have been better.

His advice regarding the Penal Colony is being acted on to the present day, though there is no intention of allowing the Penal Settlement to merge into a Free Colony as he suggests, probably deriving his views from the example of New South Wales, and Singapore.

He seems to have had an idea that the Burmese intended to have founded a colony of their own at the Andamans, but on this point no data are given.

Port Andaman, regarding which he is favourably disposed, (following Lieutenant Blair's reports), would not have done for a site for the Settlement. The "Port" merely consists of the Strait between Interview Island and the mainland, and though a Settlement could have been established on the Island, where however the soil, is poor, the existence of the huge and pestilential swamp on the Eastern side of the Strait would have caused a sick and death rate which must have shortly led to an abandonment of the Andamans, similar to that of Port Cornwallis in 1796.

While Captain Hopkinson's letter was before the Government of India further papers were forwarded from Moulmein containing an account of the murder of some Chinese sailors at the Andamans which are of great interest. The account may, I think, be taken as typical, and is one out of many similar occurrences.

Mr. Haughton, in forwarding the statements of the sailors, shows that three British vessels had been cast away on, or in the neighbourhood of, the Andamans within a year. He also comments on the careless navigation of the Chinese.

It is difficult to decide exactly where the *Fuen Gren* really went. A long, low island would correspond to the Little Andaman, and an island with a grassy plain on the northern side of it, and a hill on the south, might be either the Cinque Islands, or Passage Island. The whole statement is obviously, though perhaps not intentionally, false in its details, the geography given not corresponding to

any part of either the Andamans or the Nicobars, and the statement of the fight lasting for three or four hours being absurd; but whether any attempt was made by the Chinese to kidnap the Andamanese, or not, and whether the Andamanese had been driven by ill-treatment to thus massacre all comers, it became evident that such a state of things could not be permitted. Under these circumstances the Court of Directors ordered, in October 1856, that the Andaman Islands should be explored and reported on with a view to the establishment of a Settlement there. This exploration, for reasons given, was not undertaken until the end of 1857.

In 1856 it would appear that the only information which the Government of India possessed regarding the Andamans was contained in Lieutenant Blair's, Lieutenant Colebrooke's,and Major Kyd's reports, 1789-1796, which were of the greatest value; the Chapter above quoted herein from Major Michael Symes' "Embassy to Ava," which, except where it followed Lieutenant Blair and Lieutenant Colebrooke, is of little value; Mr. J. B. Quigley's account of his visit to Interview Island, which was incorrect and dangerously misleading; and some few newspaper articles, and brief notices in Gazetteers and Cyclopædias.

That on the above data a report of such value as Captain Hopkinson's could have been written is astonishing.

Government of India. Home Department. Public Consultation, 6th August 1858.

No. 77. No. 4152, dated November 28th, 1855.

From—J. W. Dalrymple, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India,

To—W. Grey, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

In a recent Despatch,* the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, commenting on the outrages committed by the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands on shipwrecked seamen, which were brought to notice in the papers received with Mr. Under-Secretary Young's

*Letter, dated 29th August, 1855, No. 47, paragraphs 4 and 5 in the Marine Department.

Memorandum, dated the 6th July 1854, observe that they "cannot doubt that the subject has received the consideration its importance demands."

2. The attention of the Hon'ble the President in Council having thus been called anew to the subject, I am directed to invite the suggestions of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal as to the measures he would propose for the protection of such British subjects as may unfortunately be cast away on the Andamans.

3. The only effectual remedy would be the occupation of the Islands in question, but this is manifestly impracticable. However His Honor in Council believes that good might be effected by the establishment of a convict Settlement on the South-West part of the Southern Island, which is reputed to be healthy.

4. It will be in the Lieutenant-Governor's recollection, that Port Cornwallis, on the leeward side and end of the islands, was abandoned because of its very unhealthy climate.

No. 78. No. 96, dated February 29th, 1856.

From—W. GREY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Officiating Secretary Dalrymple's letter, No. 4152, dated the 28th November last, regarding the outrages committed by the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands on shipwrecked seamen, and requesting the suggestions of the Lieutenant-Governor as to the measures he would propose for the protection of such British subjects as may unfortunately be cast away on those islands.

2. In reply, I am now directed to transmit the accompanying copy of a letter from the Commissioner of Arracan, No. 18 of the 8th instant, which appears to the Lieutenant-Governor to embody some very valuable suggestions on the subject.

3. It is obviously Captain Hopkinson's opinion, that not only the

Andamans, but also the Nicobars, should be occupied and brought under our Government. He would do this gradually, using the establishment of a penal colony on the west or south-west side, as a first step to a complete occupation.

4. In this opinion, the Lieutenant-Governor, I am directed to say, entirely concurs; for the purpose which is mainly in view in the re-agitation of this question, the mere establishment of a penal colony at one extremity of one island would be inadequate, nor would anything short of entire domination prevent the evils which now occur from the savage and unbridled ferocity of the present inhabitants. On the other hand, there is good reason to suppose that the occupation of these islands would bring many positive advantages, while their supposed unhealthiness would probably not be found more lasting than that of the coast and islands of Arracan.

No. 18, dated Kyouk Phyoo, February 8th, 1856.

From—Captain HENRY HOPKINSON, Commissioner of Arracan,
To—W. GREY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to my address, No. 541 of the 18th December, 1855, with its enclosures,* requesting that I would report on the measures I would propose for the protection of such British subjects as may unfortunately be cast away on the Andamans.

* No. 4152, dated Fort William, November, 1855, from Officiating Secretary, etc., to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal.
Note on Port Cornwallis on the Great Andamans by R. C. Tulloh, Esq.

2. I have given the question much consideration, but I do not see how it is possible to reply to it otherwise than as expressed by Mr. Secretary Dalrymple, that the only effectual remedy would be the occupation of the islands, and if this should appear impracticable, then I must still agree that the establishment of a British settlement on one of the islands, which might extend itself hereafter as circumstances allowed, would be the next best thing.

3. The relation in which the Andamans shall henceforth stand with reference to our commerce in the Bay of Bengal, to our commercial settlements on its coasts, and especially to those on the eastern side, whether we are to renounce all connection with these islands or whether they shall be included in our system, form a subject which I certainly do think deserves most earnest attention.

4. Looking on the map at the magnificent situation of these islands, their proximity to such seats of trade as Madras, Calcutta, Akyab, Rangoon, Moulmein, Penang, and Singapore, considering their extent, which must comprise an area of not much under two thousand square miles, their many fine harbours, and the prospect, reasoning from analogy, of the abundant fertility of their soil, it does seem astonishing that their condition on the present day should be such as to make us wish that they could be blotted from the face of the ocean or sunk a thousand fathoms deep below its surface. That instead of offering a refuge to the miserable storm-driven vessel, they should be a snare in her path leading to utter destruction, and in place of engaging the enterprise, and furnishing subsistence to thousands of industrious colonists, they should be left in the possession of a handful of degenerate negroes, degraded in habits and intelligence to a level little above the beasts of the forest* with which they dwell.

* I believe, though, that rats and pigs are nearly the only Mammalia to be found on the islands.

5. A scarcely more hopeful acquisition could a large portion of Arracan have appeared some thirty years ago, than the Andamans now. In climate and natural features the two countries are likely to have much in common, and the change which, within my memory has been effected in the former, may perhaps warp my judgment in supposing that the task of reclaiming the latter may not be altogether so impracticable as is believed. Further, though a matter beyond my province to discuss, I may surmise that the reasons, which towards the close of 1788, led the Board of Administration to seek a harbour sufficiently capacious to afford shelter to a fleet, have rather gained than lost in force in 1856. We have much more to protect now than we had then, and without pretending to speculate on the march of events, I may imagine the case of our having deep cause to rue that we had

left it to any power but our own to find a capacious harbour for a fleet at the Andamans.

6. However, it matters not whether we can find in any considerations of domestic or foreign policy, arguments weighty enough to reconcile us to the occupation of these islands, or a portion of them; for if the protection of the unfortunate seamen who may be cast away on their inhospitable shores cannot be otherwise assured, it is inevitable the question is no longer one of expediency, but, belonging to the first duty of a Government, should be performed at even a great sacrifice. Let us suppose that on the line of one of our great trunk roads there intervened a tract in the condition of the Andamans, should we hesitate at any cost to make it safe? And is not the obligation equal, to provide for the security of our ocean highways? I do not see either that we can limit our concern to British subjects. We maintain the right of possession to the islands, and other nations may tell us in the phrase of the day, that this property has its duties as well as its rights, and demand that we abate such a nuisance to the rest of world.

7. If it be conceded then that some partial occupation of the Andamans for protective purposes should be attempted, only its nature and locality remain to be considered; for the first, I can imagine no better plan than that of which the idea is suggested by His Honor in Council; I would found a Penal Settlement, but so constituted that it might form a nucleus for a colony or that a colony might grow up side by side with it, into which it would hereafter merge. It appears to me that it would be difficult to lay the foundation of a permanent Settlement in any other way, than by the establishment of a convict depôt in the first instance. It would be the cheapest plan, as of labour, which would otherwise be the chief source of expense, if, indeed, it could be procured at all on any terms however exorbitant, we should have abundance, at the cost of maintaining a body of men who have to be guarded and maintained under all circumstances. The system pursued in the management of English Penal Colonies would probably be consulted with advantage in many respects, but it would be premature now to enter into any questions of organization or detail, and I shall

make but very few remarks on what occur to me as some of the more salient points. The prisoners at first would have to be employed in making the station, with its roads, barracks, public buildings, and jail, and when completed, those who had not forfeited the privilege by misconduct, would receive tickets of leave, and be allowed to labour for their own profit only. Natives of Arracan, Pegu, or Burma, and the Tenasserim Provinces, convicted of any crime for which any less term of imprisonment than, say, seven years (or even a lesser term may be fixed) would be deemed an inadequate punishment, should invariably be transported to the Andamans, and their wives might be encouraged to follow, by giving the husbands of those who came, tickets of leave at the earliest period. The Burmese would find in the Andamans a climate and a country quite congenial to them, and although so sparse a population, I believe they would have founded a colony there by this time, had they been left to themselves. They frequently visited the islands, and I suspect a good deal of the hostility of the Natives to foreigners may be laid to their account, as I have heard that they used to capture them to carry into slavery. I do not of course mean that only Burmese convicts should go to the Settlement, but the more of this race there were, the better. Military guards might be furnished from the regiments stationed at Rangoon and Moulmein. The Settlement would not be more than a couple of days' run from Moulmein for the coast steamer, and the guards might be relieved therefore readily and easily as often as was necessary. The Superintendent would also require a small sea-going steamer at his disposal, and a couple of schooner packets of a burden of, say, 50 or 60 tons. The establishment of the Settlement should not be commenced with earlier than in November or later than December.

8. I now proceed to consider in what part of the Andamans the new Settlement should be located. But in the first place, it seems worth while to examine on what grounds their extreme insalubrity generally has been assumed: they may be insalubrious, the climate may be, as I have seen it called, a most merciless one, but what proofs have we of the fact? Properly applied, it does not appear to me that the experience gained in the expedition under Lieutenant

Blair and Captain Kyd warrants any such conclusion, and we have none other to guide us. Their occupation appears to have lasted for about six years and a half, or from October or November, 1789, to the middle of 1796, and for the first four years I learn from Mr. Tulloh's most interesting précis that in all Lieutenant Blair's reports he made favourable mention of the climate; it was not until the close of 1793 that the sickness, which led to the Settlement being abandoned, made its appearance. Thus, there were four years of health, and two and a half of sickness, and the balance is in favour of the climate. Moreover it seems that as long as the settlers were at Old Port Cornwallis they kept well; and that it was not until they were removed in the fourth year to New Port Cornwallis, that they fell sick. I should not draw the conclusion from this that the islands generally were very unhealthy, but simply that the choice made of New Port Cornwallis was a bad one. Now it is not very easy to determine beforehand how a place will turn out. Much more is guessed at than is known concerning malaria, but with this reservation I must say that the unhealthiness of New Port Cornwallis is but what I should have expected from its position, to which the South-West monsoon would bring, as it came sweeping up their entire length, the accumulated miasma from every part of the island group. The settlers were so placed, in fact, as to receive the full benefit of whatever there was noxious in the air. With a similar position, the same thing happens at this station, (Kyouk Phyoo), the south-west travelling up Ramree Island, makes it during the rains exceedingly unhealthy; while at Akyab the rainy season, when the wind blows directly on the town from the sea, is, I think, the healthiest period of the year.

However, I must say, I am much more astonished that the settlers should have been so well in their first location, than that they hould have suffered so much in their second. One might almost suspect that Lieutenant Blair's representations were favourable on this point, but if the fact were so, it proves a good deal for the Andamans that the first spot selected should have been found so salubrious, and that at starting, and in the first years, which are always the most

fatal. But beyond this, the sickness afterwards experienced at the second station, even if the special cause I have found for it be set aside, would not, I believe, prevent the climate from being favourably contrasted with that of any part of the adjoining coast. "Remittent fever and enlargement of the spleen," writes Captain Kyd, "were the principal complaints with which settlers were attacked," and the ravages were so great that the Surgeon of the Settlement reported that "one-fourth of the people on the island were totally unfit for any kind of duty." Now I will undertake to affirm that Captain Kyd would have had to deplore far more frightful ravages, had his little colony been established under similar circumstances, and at that time, in any part of Arracan, Pegu, or Tenasserim. Considering how little hygiene had been studied in those days, and that the nature of remittent fever, which commonly attends the clearing of lands for new settlements in all inter-tropical regions, was scarcely understood, that its attacks must have been constantly provoked and then invited anew by the mode of treatment employed to repel them, that quinine had not been then discovered, I am surprised that no more than one-fourth were sick. What was the state of the case 30 years later at Rangoon, Arracan Town, and at the Island of Cheduba, beyond contradiction now the healthiest part of Arracan, but where our soldiers died *en masse* on first landing; and even now what has been the case with most of the new stations established in Pegu? A proportion of sick often greater than that reported by Captain Kyd. No, I do not suppose that in the Andamans we shall find a Montpellier, but, should they ever be occupied, I do think they will be discovered to possess generally, a climate superior to that of most of our settlements on the eastern side of the Bay.

9. From the remarks I have made as regards New Port Cornwallis, it will be understood that in the event of a fresh attempt to form a Settlement being made, I should prefer a return to Chatham Island, or else to move to the western side of the group, and I should think that at Interview Island, or Port Andaman, the first port made by Lieutenant Blair, a suitable position would be found.

10. If I am right in my conjecture that most of the wrecks on the

Andamans occur during the south-west monsoon, when the west coast is the lee-shore, the fact would be an additional argument for having the settlement on the western side. Away off at New Port Cornwallis, it could render very little assistance or protection.

11. I would not recommend the re-occupation of these islands for their own sake; but I am very far from thinking that we should find nothing in them which would in part compensate for our having undertaken it. The abundance of fine timber proves the capability of the soil to yield the richest agricultural produce. The cocoa-nut would no doubt flourish. The low lands would furnish heavy crops of rice. On more elevated tracts, the nutmeg might be cultivated with advantage: it grows well on the islands lying off Mergui, which is in the same latitude as Port Andaman, and if it were found to succeed, Chinese settlers would soon flock in to engage in its culture. Fibrous materials are also likely to be procurable in large quantities, and the timber must be well worth attention, if, as Lieutenant Blair asserts, it is fit for ship-building. Fisheries would also be found remunerative.

12. Any project for the re-occupation of the Andamans should also comprehend arrangement for exercising from them a surveillance over the neighbouring group of the Nicobars. Those islands have acquired a horrid notoriety of late years for the murderous piracies committed by their inhabitants. An interesting article on the subject appeared in the columns of the *Englishman* newspaper, under date the 4th of January of this year; the writer, however, gives no later instance than 1848; but it will be within the memory of Government, that on information submitted to it in 1852, Captain Dicey, of the steamer *Tenasserim*, was despatched to the Nicobars, and that his report left no doubt that two vessels, one of them English, had been recently destroyed and their crews murdered by the natives. This, if I remember right, was at Kar Morta, and one of the victims was an English woman, who, with her children, was put to death under circumstances of the most shocking atrocity. It would be well if these islands could be reduced to our authority, and, if the establishment of a Penal Settlement were the only consideration,

they would probably answer as well for that purpose as the Andamans.

No. 83. No. 49, dated April 22nd, 1856.

From—The Right Hon'ble Viscount CANNING, His Excellency General G. ANSON, the Hon'ble J. DORIN, Major General J. LOW, and the Hon'ble B. PEACOCK,

To—The Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

In continuation of our letter No. 39, dated the 8th instant, we have the honor to transmit for your Hon'ble Court's information, a copy of a letter* from the Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, reporting the murder, by the inhabitants of one of the Andaman Islands, of eight Chinese traders.

* Dated 19th March.

No. 80. No. 118, dated Moulmein, March 19th, 1856.

From—Colonel Sir A. BOGLE, Kt., Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces,

To—G. F. EDMONDSTONE, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

I have the honor to submit, for the information of the Government, copy of a letter, as per margin, from the Magistrate at Moulmein, together with copies of the depositions to which it refers, concerning the murder, by the inhabitants of one of the Andaman Islands, of eight Chinese traders.

No. 62, dated 3rd March, 1856.

2. It is no doubt exceedingly to be regretted that the inhabitants of the Andamans never lose an opportunity of murdering all who may fall within their power; but a circumstance so well known and of so grievous a character must, long ere this, have frequently occupied the attention of the Supreme Government,

3. I, therefore, confine myself to simply submitting these documents in further illustration of the danger of landing on the Andaman Islands, and of the inhospitable and savage character of the natives.

No. 62, dated Moulmein, March 3rd, 1856.

From—J. C. HAUGHTON, Esq., Magistrate,

To—Colonel Sir A. BOGLE, Kt., Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces.

I have the honor to forward, herewith, copies of the depositions of the Master and two of the crew of the Junk *Fuen Gren*, of this port.

1st.—From their statement it would appear that having adopted an erroneous course from Junk Ceylon on their voyage from Penang to the Nicobars, they fell in with the Andaman Group, and eight of their number landing on one of the islands to obtain water, were massacred.

2nd.—With people so intensely ignorant of navigation in command, it is no wonder that the vessel went out of its course, and it may be difficult to ascertain on which particular island the men were murdered: possibly the accompanying rough sketch, copied from one drawn by the master, may tend to solve the question.

3rd.—I trust you will represent this case to the Government. It is impossible to say how many lives may be lost in this way yearly, and to me, I confess, it appears highly discreditable in a civilised Government to allow such a state of things to exist within a sea, one may say, bounded by its own territories and on the high road to many of its chief emporia.

4th.—It must be recollected too that since the war, Rangoon and Bassein have become British ports, and the commerce of both greatly increased.

5th.—I may remind you also that during the past year, three British vessels have been cast away on, or in the immediate neighbourhood of, the Andaman Islands.

Deposition of Ali Meu, Chinese, son of Ah Saing, aged 20 years, native of Surveng in China, by profession a ship-master, now of the town of Moulmein; before J. C. Haughton, Esq., this 27th day of February, 1856.

Deponent duly sworn, sayeth:—

"I sailed from Penang bound to the Nicobar Islands, on the 26th of the Chinese month Sevengists, in the Chinese Junk *Fuen Gren*, of which I am the Master. We were bound to Nicobars to load cocoa-nuts. We made an island on which were two mountains, nine days after our departure; this we decided was not our destination, so we steered on N.-N.-W. and came to another island five days after; we had been detained by adverse wind. This island was one of the Huckmesau ("The Negro Mountains") or Andaman Islands; coasting, we saw some five or six men on the shore, and being short of water, concluded that it must be obtainable where men were; we therefore let down our boat and sent it on shore with eight men. When the people on the shore saw our men coming to the shore, they fled to their mountain. Our men landed, and leaving six men with the boat on the beach, the remaining two went in search of water. Immediately we saw our two men fleeing back, followed by twenty or so of the natives, who began to attack our men; the latter struggled to get off the boat from the beach on which they had hauled it up, but they could not do so. We saw them kill all our men and drag them in the jungle. They also broke up the boat. As we were only five men remaining in the Junk, and had no remaining boat, we could do nothing; we hastily weighed anchor and stood out to sea. The attack was made on our men at 8 o'clock in the morning; we saw all that was done plainly, as we were not further from the shore than the Police Office is from the Main Wharf (400 yards). Nineteen days after we made the land, about Coopa, south of Mergui, where the lead mines are; we then coasted along to this place. It is twenty-four days since we made the land below Mergui. We made land two days before the Chinese New Year's Day. We did not land anywhere, as the mate was very ignorant of the coast, and we had lost our boat. We were on short allowance of water all

the time, a small pot of water among five of us. We had only two casks of water when we left the Andamans, and had about half a cask left when we got to Amherst. I am quite certain that our men did not interfere with the natives. They had two dahs and some bamboos, but no other weapons. Our men raised their oars to defend themselves at first, but seeing themselves out-numbered, they fled and tried to get off their boat. They seemed to be very tall, as compared to our men. Looking at them with the telescope, they appeared to have merely leaves round their waist. We could not discern what arms they had. I would recognize the place if I saw it again. The Burmese Malim can show the place. He said he knew the course to the Nicobars. He went with us from this place. His name is Moung Poon; he lives in Mayangong. We did not know the land; the Malim and the writer, when we got well off the shore, recognized that the island was not of the Nicobars. I never heard before of the inhabitants of the Andamans."

Deposition of Ahyon, son of Saing Yon, aged 33 years, native of Suneng, in China, by profession a seaman, now of the town of Moulmein; before J. C. Haughton, Esq., Magistrate, this 28th day of February, 1856.

Deponent duly sworn, sayeth:—

"We sailed from Penang on 26th of the 11th Chinese month last year, bound to Yasan, (Cocoa-nut Island or Nicobar), with the wind E.-N.-E. We steered N.-W. till we came to nine small islands called Saw-chee-ling; there we stood S.-S.-W. nearly four days and three nights, after we made a long low island. We made the land early in the morning. We steered about N.-N.-W. We then made another island at 4 in the evening. It was not very high, we stood on all night keeping three small islands on the right hand and the island

just mentioned on our left, steering North (witness corrects himself), the bigger island was on the right hand; we passed between; the long island was the southernmost; we met one day and one night after an island on our left side with a grassy plain on the north side and a hill on the south. We went on one day, having an island with high mountains in it on our right hand side. We thought we were going to the Nicobars all this time. Our Burmese mate suggested we should get water; we anchored therefore at daylight. The mate told us to go and get water; we objected that there were two casks on board, and that we did not know where we were; however, we put four big and five small buckets and some tubs into the boat, also some handspikes and rattans to carry them with. The boat went on shore with eight men, including Mah Neng, a part owner and writer of the junk. When the boat touched the ground, it was at once thrown upon the beach by the waves. They sent two men to look for the water, and shortly after we saw them running and two men after them; the kaffirs cried out, then twenty or thirty men followed them and attacked our men and killed them, destroying also the boat. They remained in a circle round them a long time. We could not see what they did. At 4 we weighed anchor and stood North, and when the wind changed to North we stood East. In seven days we saw the mountain we had left. We returned back through the islands the way we had come, seeking a passage to get out of the islands; we then, not finding our way, returned back in three days to the place where our men were killed. We went North of that island and steered East between those two islands, and in ten days came to Chow Cheling again. We had the N.-E. and steered for Moulmein. We did not go into Mergui, as there were many sandbanks and we had no boat. The people who killed our men were black as ink. We had no weapon. One of our men had two dahs (described case knives about a cubit long); none else had any weapon. None of the kaffirs were killed. The kaffirs continued round our men till they left. We saw our people all fallen. They fought for three or four hours with handspikes and oars, but the kaffirs got these from them at last."

Deposition of Moung Bwin, son of Moung Boke, aged 45 years, native of Tavoy, by profession a seaman, now of the town of Moulmein; before J. C. Haughton, Esq., Magistrate, this 28th day of February, 1856.

Deponent duly sworn, sayeth—

"I embarked at this port as steersman on board a Chinese Junk now lying in the river, about five months ago, bound to Bassein and Penang. We arrived at Penang in due course. We left that port I think about one month ago, with a crew of twelve persons, who being all Chinese, except myself, I do not know their names. We were bound to the Nicobars for cocoa-nuts, and thence to Bassein. We made land in eight days, a flat island. I told the crew it was not of the Nicobars, we sailed round it. At Penang I told my employers that I had never been from Penang to Nicobars, and did not know the course. I was directed, however, by a Chinese, and under the instructions received, I sailed North. Three days after we left the flat island, we saw a high island, and we thought it was one of the Nicobars; as we got close we saw it was not. In the morning, the Chinese performed worship and said, as they had very little water, they would go on shore. We were at anchor and getting under weigh, stood in and cast anchor as far off the shore as the main street is from the Police Office. After anchoring, seven men got into the boat and went on shore; we had seen some persons on the shore. These, as they saw our boat coming, went into the jungle. Two of our men went in search of water, the rest remained by the boat. In a very short time a number of people came out of the jungle, about thirty men; our two men ran for their boat. They chased them and overtook them at the boat; a fight ensued between both parties; the kaffirs killed all the Chinese and broke the boat to pieces with their hands. The kaffirs had bows in their hands; they also pelted them with stones. Our men landed at about 9 o'clock; they could not get their boat off, though they tried. The fight lasted about three hours; by this time our men were all killed. About four hours after (having waited that time to see if our men were really dead), we got underweigh, and stood to the Northward, intending to go to Bassein or Arracan.

The wind being foul, at the end of five days we stood East and after twelve days we made Selimore (Junk Ceylon), the place whence we had taken our departure for the Nicobars, and by the direction of the captain we stood for Moulmein. The wind was North-east when we first departed. From Selimore we intended to put into Tavoy, but thought it would be very hard to get in, as we had no boat; we therefore stood on to this place. I cannot say how many days elapsed from the time we took our departure from Selimore till we got to Moulmein; no one kept any reckoning. I cannot be sure that the islands we made were the kaffirs' island (Andamans). I think so, as there is no other nation that kill people without reason. We steered N.-W. from Selimore to go to Nicobars. The point we took our departure for is a high cape projecting into the sea. The island on which our crew were killed was about two days sail in length, and very high and mountainous. We did not see any island to the north of it. We stood off shore. We had seen three small islands, and one a little longer to the south of it; the latter had a hill, but not very high. With a fair wind it would have taken about ten hours to sail along it.

"The Chinese did not provoke the kaffirs in any way. The affair took place just as I have stated. The Chinese had handspikes of the windlass with them to carry water, but no arms. They had no arms in the junk whatever. There five or six vessels for water in the boat".

No. 82. No. 39, dated April 8th, 1856.

From—The Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, His Excellency General G. Anson, the Hon'ble J. Dorin, Major-General J. Low, and the Hon'ble B. Peacock,

To—The Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

With reference to paragraphs 4 and 5 of your Hon'ble Court's Despatch in the Marine Department, No. 47, dated 29th August, 1855, we have the honour to transmit a copy of a correspondence with the Government of Bengal, and of the Minutes noted on the margin, respecting the expediency of forming a Settlement on the Andaman Islands.

2. It will be observed that both the Commissioner of Arracan and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal advocate such an occupation commencing with a Penal Settlement.

3. For our grounds of objection to the proposed measure, we refer your Hon'ble Court to the Minute recorded by the Governor-General.

(The Minutes are not published.)

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

No. 84.

No. 37 of 1856.

Our Governor-General of India in Council.

1.—We have taken into consideration the circumstances brought to our notice in your letters in the Foreign Department, dated the 8th and 22nd of April, Nos. 39 and 49 of 1856, and the opinions of the several members of your Government, relative to the expediency of forming a Settlement in the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal.

2nd.—Formal possession of these islands was taken by the British Government in the year 1789. From that time to the year 1796 they were occupied by British subjects, but there was then, according to the Governor-General, a "deliberate abandonment" of them, on account, as the Commissioner of Arracan observes, of their "extreme insalubrity," and it does not appear that, during the last sixty years, we have had any other than nominal possession of the islands. We do not conceive, however, that although we have suffered our rights to remain thus long in abeyance, there is any impediment to our re-assertion of them, whenever it may be convenient to us to adopt such a course.

3rd.—It is always possible that circumstances may compel us to re-assert these rights. It would have been highly inconvenient and objectionable, at any time, that a group of islands, so situated, should be occupied by strangers, but the importance of the considera-

tion has been much increased, since we have become masters of Pegu. The Bay of Bengal is now, as observed by Mr. Grant, a British sea, and it is more than ever incumbent on us to prevent persons, not subject to the British Government, from settling within its limits.

4th.—That many vessels have been wrecked on the Andaman Islands, and many shipwrecked mariners destroyed by the savage inhabitants, are facts of notoriety, and, to some extent, of official record. We do not doubt, therefore, that a harbour or harbours of refuge at a convenient part of one or more of these islands would conduce to the security of traffic, and to the general interests of humanity.

5th.—Whether or not it would be desirable to establish a Penal Settlement on the Andaman Islands, is a question dependent upon considerations, which it is not necessary to bring into view at the present moment.

6th.—Before, however, we decide upon a measure, the advantages of which are variously regarded by the different members of our Government, we desire to be supplied with more information than we now possess relating to those islands. It would be expedient, therefore, in the first instance, that steps should be taken to explore them, and to report upon the sites which they may offer both for the construction of harbours of refuge on the coast, and for the establishment of penal or other Settlements, not only on the shores, but also in the inland parts of the islands. We desire to know all that can be ascertained, without incurring great risks on the score of health, or heavy expenditure, regarding the number and character of the inhabitants, the animal, vegetable, and mineral resources of the country, the nature of the soil and of the climate, the quantity and quality of the water, and the general capabilities of the islands as a place of residence and as a field for cultivation. When we have received from you this information, which you will supply with all practicable despatch, we shall address you again on the subject.

7th.—We have confined ourselves in the foregoing observations to the case of the Andaman Islands, to which the papers before us principally relate, but we concur in opinion with Mr. Grant, who

observes in his Minute of the 19th of March, that the contemplated "object would be very imperfectly obtained without the occupation of the Nicobar Islands." Of these islands, all right to which was abandoned by His Danish Majesty in 1847, possession has never been taken by the British Government. Forsaken by the Danes on account of an insalubrity, which it was conceived could only be subdued by an expenditure of life and money, for which there was likely to be no adequate return, these inhospitable islands hold out to us, as at present advised, little inducement to plant the British flag upon them. But as it is possible that the apprehensions which deterred the Danish Government from continuing to occupy the islands, may have been unfounded or exaggerated, we desire that you will furnish us with such information bearing upon the reputed insalubrity of the Nicobars, as you possess, or may be able to obtain, information calculated to enable us to form an opinion respecting the expediency or inexpediency of taking formal possession of the islands.

No. 85. No. 14, dated April 8th, 1857.

From—The Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, the Hon'ble J. Dorin, Major-General J. Low, and the Hon'ble B. Peacock,

To—The Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 37, dated 1st October last, requesting, before deciding upon the expediency of forming a Settlement in the Andaman Islands, to be supplied with more information relating to those islands, and directing that they may explored and a report submitted on certain points, also requesting to be furnished with information bearing upon the reputed insalubrity of the Nicobar Islands, before taking formal possession of those islands.

2. With respect to the Andaman Islands, we beg to acquaint you that the proper time at which to begin an exploration of these islands is at the cessation of the south-west monsoon, when the dangerous part of the coast is accessible, and when there is least risk to health.

3. Even if the Government of India had a steam vessel at its disposal, we doubt whether at this advanced season of the year it would be expedient to begin to organize an expedition; but as we have not got a vessel for this or any other purpose, it is unnecessary to consider that point.

4. For these reasons, we beg to state that we propose to defer acting upon your directions until next Autumn.

5. We do not anticipate much difficulty or risk (except to health) in the undertaking, if proper precautions are observed, and on this account the expedition will probably need to be upon a larger scale than your Hon'ble Court contemplate. Guards, baggage animals, and supplies of all sorts must accompany it.

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CHAPTER VII.

Formation of the "Andaman Committee"—Captain Man directedto take possession of the Andamans—Policy to be observed towards the Andamanese—Dr. Mouat's book—Comments—Notes on the Andamanese man taken to Calcutta by Dr. Mouat—Despatch from the "Andaman Committee"—Letters to Captain Man—Despatch from the Court of Directors.

On the 20th November, 1857, the Government of India issued orders to Dr. F. J. Mouat, Dr. G. R. Playfair, and Lieutenant J. A Heathcote, I.N., to proceed to the Andamans in order to examine the shores of the Islands, and select the best site which may be found there for the establishment of a Penal Settlement, Dr. Mouat being the President of this Committee.

The party sailed from Calcutta on the 23rd of November, 1857, in the Hon'ble Company's Steam Frigate *Semiramis*, for Moulmein, arriving there on the 1st December.

Taking with them twelve short term Burmese convicts, and a guard of three convict Peons, to clear the jungle, they left Moulmein on the 8th December, in the Hon'ble Company's Steam Vessel *Pluto*, and arrived in Port Cornwallis on the 11th December.

Port Cornwallis, Stewart's Sound, the Archipelago Islands, Barren Island, Old Harbour (now Port Blair), Rutland Island and the Cinque Islands, a new harbour, now called Port Mouat, Port Campbell, the Middle Strait, and Interview Island were examined, and the Committee left the Islands again on the 1st January, 1858, for Calcutta, submitting on their arrival the following able and exhaustive report.

On their recommendation the Old Harbour was named Port Blair and fixed upon as the site for the new Settlement. Captain H. Man (who ten years afterwards was appointed Superintendent of Port Blair, and in 1869 annexed the Nicobars), Executive Engineer and Superintendent of Convicts at Moulmein, was directed to proceed to Port Blair, take possession of the Andaman Islands, and prepare a

Settlement, to which the Government of India would send convicts and a Superintendent as soon as practicable.

It should be observed that, as a precautionary measure, the Andaman Islands were again annexed to the British Crown, though no real doubt was felt as to our right to occupy them. So unattractive, indeed, so dreaded, have they always been, that none of the other nations, who at different times have formed settlements on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, have ever annexed them, and England is the only country under whose jurisdiction the Andamanese have been.

Captain Man was told that when convicts were located on the mainland, it might be necessary to arm a limited number of them with muskets to keep off the savages, thus showing that the Government of India were fully alive to the hindrance and annoyance the Andamanese would probably cause. On this order the Court of Directors, while admitting the aggressiveness of the Andamanese, directed that all precautions should be taken to protect them from collisions with the convicts, which "must end in the extermination of the weaker race." They evidently regarded with little approval the proposal to arm the convict sepoys against the aborigines.

This policy of the Court of Directors towards the Andamanese has been continued to the present day. It was the same in Lieutenant Blair's Settlement of 1790, and is the same now. Even when the servants of the Government of India would appear at times to have been provoked almost beyond endurance by the implacable hostility and treachery of the Andamanese, the higher authorities in England and India have always insisted on a leniency and consideration being shown to them, which is certainly much in excess of their deserts. But the Government appear to have thought, and rightly, that the Andamanese are more in the position of irresponsible children, than of reasoning enemies, and have treated them accordingly.

Though the race are now rapidly becoming extinct from causes which will be given further on, the English have nothing to reproach themselves with regarding the Andamanese, whatever may have been the case in Tasmania; and, having the unfortunate experiences of that penal colony, and our treatment of the aborigines there, before

them, the Government of India adopted a policy towards the aborigines of the Andaman Islands which has made them, above all races of savages, the most carefully tended and petted.

As Dr. Mouat's Report, and his subsequent book on the Andamans, have been accepted for a long period as authoritative and decisive on matters relating to the Andamanese, it will be as well to examine this report closely in order to see what grounds exist for its high scientific position.

Dr. Mouat came into contact with the Andamanese on four occasions only, each of a few hours' duration. He knew nothing of their language, and the meetings were hostile on the part of the savages.

His Report is perfectly straightforward and accurate, the only points where his conclusions were not correct being the following:—

Paragraph 25.—A recent survey has shown that there are plenty of good trees, the timber of which is suitable for building purposes, in Stewart's Sound.

Paragraph 55.—It has since been found that the Mangosteen does well, but the Lichi, though it grows well, will not fruit, and all our efforts have failed to make the Loquat thrive.

Paragraph 93.—This shows that at first Dr. Mouat was partially misled by Mr. Quigley's pamphlet, and no doubt the bitter manner in which he, justifiably, speaks of this author in his book, results from his experiences at Interview Island.

Paragraph 106.—This shows that Dr. Mouat thought that all the Andamanese were one tribe, though he changed his opinion afterwards; and in his book, alluding to Colebrooke's vocabulary (and his own non-success with the word

Padoo), he remarks that the Andamanese man he brought from Interview Island to Calcutta in January, 1858, did not understood a word of it. He thinks it possible that there may be different dialects among the aborigines in the Great Andaman.

Paragraph 108.— Shows that he had no idea of the existence of the Éremtága tribes, and his remarks on this point, coupled with those of Major Symes, led the public to believe, until Mr. Man published his Monograph on the Andamanese in 1882, that no aborigines lived in the interior of the Islands.

Paragraph 118.—Dr. Mouat mixes up the bows of the North and South Andaman Groups of Tribes, having seen the former at Interview and Craggy Islands and the latter at Port Campbell. (This marked difference in so universally used a weapon in different parts of the Islands should have led him to suspect the existence of more than one tribe.)

Paragraph 121.—The sounding-boards, cut from padouk wood, and used instead of drums at the dances, have often been mistaken for shields, to which they have a considerable resemblance.

Paragraph 123.—The Andamanese carry their baskets on their backs, suspended from a cord which goes across the shoulders and chest. The iron knife is used exclusively for cutting food.

Paragraph 124.—Neither "wild spinach" nor anything resembling it is known to, or eaten by the Andamanese. It is difficult to understand what Dr. Mouat is alluding to here. He may have seen the leaves used for medicinal purposes.

Paragraph 126.—His remarks about the shaving of the hair are incorrect.

In his book, subsequently published, the errors are, however, numerous. I have been told on good authority that this book was written in England, partly from his Report, and partly from information supplied after the Settlement had been opened, by officials whose stories of the aborigines were derived from convicts and Naval Brigade men; and Dr. Mouat, who was in India and much engaged in official work, was not responsible for many of the statements in it. This appears to be very probable, and would account for much which is told in the book, but which Dr. Mouat did not see and would not have been likely to imagine.

As will be noticed, he took to Calcutta with him in January, 1858, an Andamanese lad, who had been taken prisoner in the engagement off the South end of Interview Island. The subsequent history of this youth is:—

"In Calcutta he attracted much attention, being the first Andamanese seen there since Kyd and Blair took theirs up. Being alone and unable to converse with any one he soon pined, and on the 15th January, 1858, Dr. Mouat wrote to the Secretary to the Government of India that the Andamanese had been so seriously ill since his arrival that he should be returned to the Andamans at once.

"He first had cholerine, which was treated successfully; then bronchitis, which he could not shake off, and which threatened to merge into a low form of typhoid inflammation of the lung.

"He was sent back to the Andamans, and landed on the South end of Interview Island, the place from whence he had been originally taken. A quantity of presents were given to him, but nothing was ever seen of him again."

By 1880 the other Andamanese on Interview Island had completely forgotten the whole occurrence, and I have not been able to learn anything about the man.

Home Department. Judicial. No. 3 of 19th January, 1858.

To—The Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

With advertence to the 6th paragraph of your Hon'ble Court's Despatch No. 24 of 1857, dated the 8th April, and to our letter No. 2 of 1858, dated the 7th January, we have the honour to state for your Hon'ble Court's information, that on the 20th November last we appointed a Committee, composed of Dr. F. J. Mouat, the Inspector of Jails in the Lower Provinces, Assistant Surgeon G. R. Playfair, M.D., and Lieutenant J. A. Heathcote of the Indian Navy, to examine the Andaman Group of Islands, with a view to a selection of a site for the establishment a Penal Settlement for the reception, in the first instance, of Mutineers, Deserters, and Rebels sentenced to imprisonment in banishment, and eventually for the reception of all convicts under sentence of transportation, whom, for any reason, it may not be thought expedient to send to the Straits Settlements or to the Tenasserim Provinces.

2. We enclose a copy of the instructions which we gave to the Committee.

3. The Committee left Calcutta on the 23rd November last, in the Hon'ble Company's Steam Vessel *Semiramis* for Moulmein, whence they proceeded in the *Pluto*, to the Andamans, arriving there on the 11th December following. They have now returned to Calcutta, and we have the honour to forward for your Hon'ble Court's information, a copy of the able, useful, and interesting report which they have submitted to us.

4. In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee, we have selected the "Old Harbour" henceforward to be distinguished by the name of "Port Blair," as the locality of the proposed Penal Settlement; and we have directed Captain H. Man, the Executive Engineer and Superintendent of Convicts at Moulmein, to proceed at once to the spot with all the means necessary for clearing a site, and otherwise preparing for the reception of the convicts.

5. Captain Man has been instructed, as a preliminary step, to re-take formal possession of the Andaman Group, with the view of

avoiding any doubt or difficulty that may arise from the circumstance of their having been deserted in 1796.

6. A copy of our proceedings on the report of the Andaman Committee is also enclosed for your Hon'ble Court's information.

No. 2436, dated the 20th November, 1857,

From—C. BEADON, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,

To—F. J. MOUAT, Esq., M.D., G. R. Playfair, Esq., M.D., Lieutenant J. A. Heathcote, I.N.

I am directed to inform you that the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council has been pleased to appoint you to be a Committee to examine the shores of the Andaman Group of Islands, and to select the best site which may be found there for the establishment of a penal settlement.

2. The first requisites of such a Settlement are a secure and accessible harbour, abundance of wood and water, a healthy situation for a jail and convict lines, and considerable extent of country in the vicinity fit for clearance and cultivation. It is desirable also that the jail should, if possible, be located on an islet, separated from the main island by a channel affording safe anchorage for vessels of light draught, and too wide for any convict to attempt to cross by swimming. By this means it would be more easy to maintain an entire separation between convicts kept in close confinement and those to whom some degree of liberty is allowed.

3. Dr. Mouat will be President of the Committee, and in general charge of the expedition. His attention will be more particularly given to matters connected with the enquiry, with which his duties as Inspector of Jails in Bengal have made him familiar. The medical and scientific duties of the expedition will devolve upon Dr. Playfair. And those connected with the survey of the coast and the harbour, will be attended to by Lieutenant Heathcote. Lieutenant Heathcote will understand that a minute or detailed survey is not required; it will be sufficient to ascertain the general features of the channels or anchorages. But the Governor General in Council does not doubt that the members of the Committee will communicate freely with

each other, and be able to submit the result of their investigations in a combined report.

4. The Committee are to proceed to Moulmein in the Hon'ble Company's Steam Frigate *Semiramis*, which will leave Calcutta on Monday next, the 23rd instant. At Moulmein the Hon'ble Company's Steam Vessel *Pluto* will be placed at the disposal of the Committee, and in her they will proceed to the Andamans, taking such course as, under all circumstances, may appear most advisable. Having completed their enquiries, the Committee can either return to Calcutta direct in the *Pluto*, or find their way back in any other way that may seem preferable.

5. The Committee should not separate till their report is complete, and this His Lordship in Council trusts will not be later than the middle of January. The value of the report will be greatly enhanced if it be accompanied by photographic view sof the various sites reported on.

6. The Committee should be accompanied to the Andamans by a small guard of Europeans, which can be furnished from among the men of the Indian Navy by the Senior Naval Officer.

7. All the information in the possession of the Government relating to the Andaman Islands will be placed at the disposal of the Committee.

Dated the 15th January, 1858.

From—C. BEADON, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,

To—F. J. MOUAT, Esq., M.D., G. R. Playfair, Esq., M.D., Lieutenant. J. A. Heathcote, I.N.

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your report, dated the 1st instant, and to convey to you the cordial thanks of the Government of India for the judicious, prompt, and effectual manner in which you have carried out the instructions contained in my letter of the 20th November last, as well as for the business-like and practical shape in which you have submitted the result of your investigation. Your proceedings from first to last are entirely approved.

2. His Lordship in Council agrees with you as to the selection of the Old Harbour (which it is intended shall henceforward bear the name of Port Blair) for a Penal Settlement, and instructions have this day been issued to Captain H. Man, Executive Engineer and Superintendent of convicts at Moulmein, to proceed thither in the *Pluto* as soon as possible after her return, with all the means necessary for clearing a site and otherwise preparing for the reception of convicts.

3. I am directed to request that 50 impressions may be made of the series of photographs taken during the expedition, and that, after reserving five copies for the use of the Members of the Committee, the remainder (of which ten should be mounted) may be sent to this office. The canoe and implements should also be properly packed for transmission to the Hon'ble Court of Directors. The Geological specimens had better be deposited in the Museum.

4. The new Harbour discovered by the Committee on the West coast of the Great Andaman opposite to Port Blair, will be called Port Mouat after the President.

5. The Governor General in Council entirely approves of your having brought to Calcutta the inhabitant of the Andamans, who after the unprovoked attack made by the savages on the boats of the expedition, fell alive into your hands. His Lordship in Council had hoped that this man would have become an useful medium of communication between the Officers of Government and his own countrymen, and have given assistance in reclaiming them from the state of profound and primitive barbarism in which they now exist. He regrets, however, to learn from Dr. Mouat's subsequent letter of this date, that the health of the man has suffered so much since his arrival in Calcutta that it is thought advisable to send him to sea.

6. The Governor General in Council thinks it best that the *Pluto* should proceed from hence in the first instance to Interview Island and land the native as near as possible to the place at which he was taken, and His Lordship in Council desires me to request that he may be abundantly supplied with useful articles of peace, such as carpenter's tools, knives, cotton cloth, thread, cords, axes, metal pots

and pans, as well as with beads, looking-glasses and such like objects of savage finery. And every possible endeavour should again be made to assure his countrymen, both through him and by direct signs, that our objects are friendly, and that they have nothing to expect but good treatment at our hands. Dr. Mouat will be so good as to give the Commander of the *Pluto* all needful instructions on this head.

Dated Port Andaman, the 1st January, 1858.

From—The ANDAMAN COMMITTEE,

To—C. BEADON, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2436, dated the 20th November, 1857, intimating that the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council had been pleased to appoint us to be a Committee to examine the shores of the Andaman Group of Islands, and to select the best site that may be found for the establishment of a Penal Settlement.

2. The requisites for such a Settlement were pointed out, and we were directed to proceed on the Hon'ble Company's Steam Frigate *Semiramis* to Moulmein, where the steamer *Pluto* was to be placed at our disposal for the purpose of conveying us to the scene of our labours.

3. We accordingly embarked on the *Semiramis* on Monday, the 23rd of November, and reached Moulmein on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 1st of December, 1859. The *Pluto* was at that time absent, but returned on Friday, the 4th, and was prepared for sea with all possible despatch.

European Guards.

4. To protect our party when engaged in exploring, Captain Campbell, Indian Navy, commanding the *Semiramis*, placed at the disposal of the Committee, an officer and twenty European seamen from his crew.*

* The fact is of interest that Walker, the famous filibuster, who afterwards commanded the insurgents in Nicaragua and was shot there, was one of these men, and was even then known as a wild and dangerous character and an exceptionally accurate shot.

Convict Pioneers.

To enable us to penetrate the dense jungle which was said, and which we found, to cover the Andamans, the Officiating Commissioner of Moulmein, Major A. Fytche, sanctioned the temporary transfer of twelve short term Burmese Convicts accustomed to forests, with a guard of three Convict Peons. Without the aid of these men we could have made no progress in the examination of the coast. Major Fytche also made over to us the boring instrument in store at Moulmein, and Captain Man, the Superintendent of the Convict Establishment, taught the prisoners the use of that important instrument prior to our departure.

Departure from Moulmein.

5. Thus armed and equipped, we left Moulmein on the morning of Tuesday, the 8th of December, and anchored in Port Cornwallis at 8½ A.M., of Friday, the 11th of the same month.

Port Cornwallis.

6. Our object in first visiting the old settlement was to ascertain by personal examination the causes of its extreme unhealthiness, to guide us in our investigation into the other localities likely to possess sites suitable for a Penal Settlement.

7. We do not deem it necessary to furnish a detailed description of this magnificent harbour, and the Islands enclosed within it. The survey of Lieutenant Blair was found to be generally accurate, and, with the exception hereinafter noted, the place seems to have undergone no material change since the abandonment of the settlement in 1796 for reasons which are contained in the records of the Government of India.

8. We landed on the North-East corner of Chatham Island, where all that could be found of the old settlement was lying on the beach, in the form of detached fragments of a substantial brick building.

9. The rear wall only was standing and contained a door and two windows. The remainder of so much of the house as had not been destroyed by the encroachment of the sea, which in this spot must have advanced some 40 or 50 feet, was strewed with large pieces of masonry and brickwork on the beach. The brickwork, cemented

with shell lime, was of excellent quality, which was shown by the retention of the form of the arches which had fallen. The masonry had been detached in masses by the vegetation growing in fissures, which had probably been caused by the action of the sea. The detached bricks, which were scattered over a space of some 200 yards had been rounded by the same agency.

10. A small mound, about 100 feet in height, was immediately behind, and to the South-West of the building. Rounded fragments of masonry which had probably formed the basement of a pillar were found at the foot of the hill, on the crest of which were layers of small bricks imbedded in the roots of the trees. No inscriptions, wells, or other indications of the existence of a settlement could be found, owing to the perfect impenetrability of the jungle. A few cocoanut trees, palms, and acacias, and a number of larger trees not identified, covered the island. Two small water-courses were seen, one on its Northern, the other on its Western aspect.

11. On its South-Western side is an extensive mud bay, dry in spring tides, with broad belts of mangrove, and low flat country on the opposite shore in the same direction.

12. The only sea breeze that could reach the island is the North-East wind, and that could have blown but over a small portion of its Northern aspect.

13. It thus appears to have been ill-selected as a site for a Settlement, two-thirds of its own shore being fringed with a dense belt of Mangrove, and the prevailing winds during the greater part of the year at its most unhealthy season, blowing over the swamp surrounding the Island. Conditions more certainly calculated to secure the largest measure of unhealthiness, it would be difficult to find.

14. Photographic views were taken of the remains of the settlement, and of some native fishing huts in its immediate vicinity.

15. Of the savages themselves nothing was seen, although huts and other indications of their proximity and recent presence were found on the mainland, in a Bay on the North side of the Port.

16. The results of our intercourse with the Natives will be mentioned in a separate paragraph.

17. On leaving Port Cornwallis we steered to Craggy Island a few miles to the southward, for the purpose of ascertaining if it were practicable to mount the Saddle Hill, the highest point of the Islands, in order to obtain some idea of the interior of the Great Andaman.

Craggy Island.

18. Upon a near examination of the spot we considered it to be impracticable in the time, and with the means at our disposal—so the project was abandoned. At this point, we first came in contact with the inhabitants, as will be mentioned hereinafter.

19. We then proceeded to Sound Island, as the next locality on the East Coast, affording promise of an eligible site.

Sound Island.

20. We steamed through Stewart's Sound, and right round the island which is of an irregular quadrilateral form, forming one side of a large land-locked bay, accessible at all seasons to vessels of every class. The island appeared to consist of ridges of high land running through it in all directions, and prolonged in spurs to the points of the bays indenting its margin. It was fringed with belts of mangrove, and surrounded by coral reefs, with occasional fine sandy beaches.

21. Towards the South-West extremity is a horse shoe shaped harbour, nearly three quarters of a mile in depth and rather more than half a mile across, the shores of which we spent two days in exploring. On the Northern and Eastern aspects it is skirted by coral banks and rocks, but in the rest of its extent, it has good anchorage ground for large ships.

22. The ridge surrounding it rises to a height of about 120 feet, and we found the jungle and underwood much less tangled and dense than on Chatham Island.

23. The ridges also contained small plateaux of level ground, with good drainage, and sufficient in extent to form a very large Settlement, with an abundance of clay and coral for building purposes, and a rich soil for cultivation.

24. But, it was deficient in water, appearing to possess only the moisture resulting from surface drainage, without a running rill of even the smallest dimensions in any direction that was examined for

a mile and a half. Attempts to dig and bore, the latter to a depth of eleven feet, failed to procure water.

25. There was also a deficiency of forest trees fit for building purposes.

26. For these reasons, it does not seem to us to be a desirable place for a Settlement of any kind. There was no point from which a photographic view, calculated to show its characters, could be obtained.

27. In addition to local deficiencies and probable sources of disease from the belt of mangrove encircling it in all directions, in attempting to ascertain the existence of a navigable Strait between the Northern and Middle Andaman, we discovered an extensive tract of the worst description of Sunderbund, ending in putrid shallows, apparently running towards the interior of the island, and sufficient to poison any place lying within the influence of the winds blowing over it.

28. The ascertainment of the existence of a passage, which had been left undetermined by Lieutenant Blair, was a question of some interest as, in the event of its furnishing a safe and ready access to Interview Island from the Eastern Coast, it might have led to the occupation of that great island, had it contained the other conditions essential to the formation of a Settlement. The extent of the pestilential Sunderbund was not ascertained,—but that no navigable passage existed and that any Settlement in its vicinity would be undesirable were fairly established.

29. Having finished this work, we again steered to the Southward, towards the Andaman Archipelago, a large cluster of Islands on the Eastern Coast.

Andaman Archipelago.

30. The main land was bold, with high undulating hills, and more free from mangrove than any portion of the islands yet seen by us.

31. We passed round two sides of Long Island to the bay lying between it and the shore of the Great Andaman, but as no indications of running streams were seen, as the island itself was low, and as the opposite shore was skirted with a thick belt of mangrove, we did

not consider it worth while to waste any time in landing to explore a place so obviously unsuitable.

32. The remaining islands of the Archipelago we did not look at. Most of them were low, the absence of safe ports was patent, and the navigation too dangerous and too intricate to permit of their being occupied as a penal settlement, according to the instructions laid down for our guidance. Even had some of the larger islands proved eligible in themselves they would not have allowed of sufficient subsequent extension to permit of their occupation on an extended scale, with reference to the amount of culturable land near the Settlement.

Barren Island.

33. Being within a few miles of Barren Island at this point, and considering that it was desirable to neutralize any possible bad effects from the very unwholesome places we had recently examined, we resolved to visit and explore that interesting Volcano.

34. We accordingly steered for it on the evening of the 17th, and reached it at 4 on the morning of the 18th. We spent a few hours in examining it and some of our party ascended the cone, and saw the crater, which is still smouldering. It has apparently changed in some of its physical features since it was last described, but as these are foreign to the object of our mission, they are recorded in a separate report by Dr. Playfair.

35. The only fact of sufficient political importance to place on record regarding it, is, that it contains a little sulphur, and that little too inaccessible to be worked with advantage.

36. We returned to the Andamans on the same evening, so that the expedition cost only an expenditure of a few hours of time.

Old Harbour.

37. On the morning of the 19th of December we anchored abreast of Chatham Island in Old Harbour, the site of Blair's first Settlement, and as its original occupation had proved continuously healthy, we devoted four days to a very minute and careful exploration of the islands in and at the mouth of the harbour, and of the adjacent main land.

38. The minute and excellent survey of Lieutenant Blair made in 1789, we found to be a most useful and trustworthy guide to the chief

physical features of the place, which can have undergone no material change in the long interval which has elapsed.

39. Nearly every trace of the original settlement on Chatham Island has been entirely effaced. A few bricks and tiles and a rough stone jetty were the only indications of its occupation. The island is small, about 600 yards in length by 150 in breadth, with undulating ground and a good soil covered with vegetation, in which are a few large forest trees. There was no indication of water anywhere, but, on boring near the foot of a mound at the North end of the islet, it was found in a clay bed at the depth of twelve feet, and it instantly rose to within five feet of the surface of the artesian well.

40. The small strait intervening between the islet and the southern shore of the harbour is shallow, with a rocky bottom, being a continuation of Blair's reef. The water evidently came therefore from that side, where it was subsequently discovered in abundance.

41. The North shore is high, rising abruptly nearly 300 feet, with ledges of cultivable land on its southern aspect. The ridges are formed of sandstone, which was found to contain several water-courses, two of which are mentioned by Blair, and to abound in bamboos, cane, rattan, and a sufficiency of large forest trees for building purposes. Good clay for bricks is abundant, and the supply of sandstone for building inexhaustible for piers, jetties, the metalling of roads, and any other purpose that may be needed. The coral reefs in the more exposed bays would furnish an unlimited stock of fine lime. Further, limestone of the finest quality is procurable on a promontory about a day's sail from Old Harbour, and a few miles to the north of Long Island. The luxuriance of the vegetation, and its great variety may be assumed to be good proof of the fertility of the soil, especially when brought under regular cultivation.

42. The rocks bordering it abound in oysters and other shell fish, and the harbour itself being quite open to the East with a tidal influx and afflux, will doubtless prove a rich fishery.

43. The belt of mangrove bordering this side of the port is not very extended, and could scarcely prove a source of disease to any settle-

ment of the southern and western slopes of the hills. They could, moreover, be cleared away without much difficulty.

44. The land at the western end of the bay is also elevated, supplied with fresh water, and seems to be very much of the same character as that of the northern side.

45. Mangrove Bay we did not examine, as although it probably leads to a Sunderbund, its position in the north-west corner of the harbour is such as to remove it from the course of the prevailing monsoons, and thus to prevent its becoming a source of unhealthiness to the Settlement.

46. If bunded so as to shut out the sea, the extreme rise of which is only seven feet, it can doubtless be reclaimed hereafter, and form good rice land, as at Kyouk Phyoo in the Island of Ramree on the coast of Arracan, which has been rendered both healthy and productive by an embankment of the nature referred to.

47. The land on the southern aspect of the harbour is lower, even more plentifully supplied with water, and from the character of its dense and multiform vegetation seems to possess a richer and more promising soil. Among the plants identified were a few coconut trees, a thatching palm, some varieties of acacia, tree ferns, the bamboo, the rattan, cane, and others not necessary to record.

48. In many places, particularly where directly exposed to the sea, there is little or no mangrove skirting it.

49. Ross's Island at the entrance of the harbour is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long by $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile at its broadest part, is low on the western side, gradually rising to an elevation of about 160 feet on its eastern shore, the rock being sandstone. It acts as a breakwater against the North-East Monsoon, and appears from the hospital having been placed there formerly, to have been used as a sanitarium, for which purpose it appears to us to be well adapted. It is bounded by smooth rocks on its sea face, and contains large forest trees, with vigorous and not very rank under vegetation.

50. We found no water on it, and no vestige of its former occupation, but, from the character of the adjacent land and the shallowness of the bay separating it from the main land to the southward, we have

no doubt that boring would have found it. It is more than probable that when the early hospital existed on it that the supply of water was obtained from a well, but on this and many other points of interest and importance, the précis furnished to the Committee contains no information whatever. The original report of Lieutenant Blair most probably contains it.

51. The Committee are not aware of any physical indications by which the healthiness of an uncleared locality can be absolutely predicated ; but, so far as ordinary experience can be accepted as a safe guide, Old Harbour seems to afford fair promise of proving as healthy as any locality similarly situated in a tropical region.

52. Its means of drainage are ample and most efficient ; the removal of all effete matter beyond the reach of causing mischief will be easy ; and any possible existent tracts of marsh land do not lie in the direction of the prevailing winds.

53. We are, therefore, of opinion that, as a small portion of it, Chatham Island, proved continuously healthy during the time it was occupied sixty years since ; with ordinary care in the construction of buildings, and strict attention to conservancy arrangements, a more extended and permanent settlement will prove equally salubrious.

54. Making due allowance for its higher latitude, from its similarity to certain portions of the East Coast of Ceylon, and from its local peculiarities, we are of opinion that economic plants, such as the cocoanut, the bread fruit tree, the plantain, the sugar cane, and the date palm, would certainly flourish here. Of useful plants the bamboo, rattan, thatching palms, and most of the timber trees that bear exposure to sea air, would also grow well with a little care in cultivation.

55. It is not improbable that many tropical fruits of great value, such as the Mangostein, the Leechee, the Loquat, and others would also be naturalized without much difficulty.

56. Grasses would also grow for pasturage, but they would probably be somewhat rank and coarse.

57. From Old Harbour, we steered again to the Southward to Rutland Island. The coast was undulating, hilly, without mangrove, and ended in a hold bluff at the

Rutland and Cinque islands.

entrance to Macpherson's Strait. The southern face of the Great Andaman was fringed with mangrove, but it was not deep, and could not in any way affect the health of a settlement at Old Harbour.

58. We devoted two days to sailing round Rutland Island, and the examination of a part of its Eastern shore, as well as of one of the Cinque Islands in its vicinity. The former is a fine extensive tract of land, hilly at its northern end, well wooded, and flatter in the rest of its extent. It is apparently well supplied with water, must be healthy from its position, and the character of its vegetation renders it probable that it possesses a fertile soil.

59. The harbour in Macpherson's Strait is accessible from the eastward at all seasons of the year, and possesses safe anchorage for vessels of any burthen. Access from the western side would be difficult and dangerous in the South-West Monsoon; and the whole of that side of the island exhibited proof of the violence of the weather to which it is subjected during a great part of the year.

60. The north shore of Rutland Island is, unfortunately, surrounded by a dense belt of mangrove rendering it difficult to find a suitable landing place.

61. It is, therefore, in all respects inferior to Old Harbour for a Settlement; yet it may become very valuable hereafter, should the Andamans be colonized.

62. The second of the Cinque Islands would form an excellent isolated station for very refractory convicts, who needed entire separation. It is three miles in length by one in breadth at the broadest part, is unusually well supplied with water, and is separated sufficiently from all other land, to render escape from it next to impossible. It is fertile in some parts, and would most likely prove very healthy, but scarcely contains a sufficiency of land for cultivation to maintain a settlement. During the North-East Monsoon it is easily accessible, but approach to it would be somewhat difficult in the South-West Monsoon. A landing could always however be effected at its North-East corner with a little care.

63. Its distance from Old Harbour being only 2½ miles, it could

without much trouble be easily superintended, visited, and supplied from that place, if necessary, at all seasons of the year.

Labyrinth Islands.

64. We did not examine the Labyrinth Islands, as they were evidently unsuitable for convict settlements, being closely surrounded by reefs, difficult of access, too close to each other, and probably not abundantly supplied with water. They are flat, and covered with dense, lofty, and luxuriant vegetation. They may prove valuable hereafter, as from their position they must be healthy.

Discovery of a new Harbour.

65. On proceeding northward along the western coast, which near the southward of the Great Andaman is very free from mangrove on its sea face, we found a fine spacious harbour not visited or described by Blair, to the south-west of Old Harbour. The land at its eastern end is within two miles of the western extremity of Old Harbour. It is surrounded by a narrow belt of mangrove which is so placed as not to be able to affect injuriously the health of any Settlement in Old Harbour. A short road, little more than two miles in extent, would here connect the eastern and western shores, a point of some importance in their future occupation, as by opening up and clearing the intermediate land, a healthy sea breeze could be obtained during both monsoons.

66. The new harbour is unfortunately accessible only from the South through the passage between the Labyrinth Islands, a navigation far too difficult and dangerous to be used by vessels in distress during the South-West Monsoon. On attempting to run parallel to the coast in steering Northward, the coral reefs, which are here very extensive, were found to be too near the surface to admit of the passage of a vessel of even such light draft as the *Pluto*, the water shoaling suddenly from 8 to 1½ fathoms. An attempt to stand to sea in the direction of the North Centinel failed from the same cause, so we had to return through the Labyrinth to the southward.

Port Campbell.

67. We next proceeded to Port Campbell, a very fine harbour, but at all times difficult of entrance or exit, on account of the direction and extreme narrowness

of the deep water channel at its mouth. It is, therefore, unsuited for a settlement, so we did not examine it minutely.

Middle Strait.

68. After this the Committee proceeded through the Strait separating Middle from South Andaman, to ascertain, if possible, the physical features of the interior of the island.

69. The Strait was in the greater part of its extent bounded by very deep patches of stunted mangrove, the growth of that plant being evidently checked by the quantity of fresh water that falls into the Strait during the rains. At present, they must render land lying in a north-easterly direction extremely unhealthy. If reclaimed, hereafter, they might form rich ri e lands.

Interview Island.

70. On leaving the Middle Strait, we again proceeded Northward to Interview Island, the last place examined by the Committee.

71. This fine Island lying parallel to, and at a small distance from the main land, forms a large and secure harbour open for ingress and egress at both North and South extremities, but well sheltered from the violence of the South-West Monsoon. It is surrounded by a belt of mangrove everywhere, except at its southern end, where the land is higher and more healthy looking. It is covered with dense vegetation, and seemed to be well watered. In all its other characters it bears a strong resemblance to the remaining islands on the western shore, being little elevated, and bearing evident marks of the exposure to the violence of the elements to which they are subjected in the South-West Monsoon.

72. It is more thickly peopled than most parts of the coast, but appears to share the general deficiency of animal life remarked in the whole group.

73. It may prove a valuable settlement hereafter, and from its free exposure to the sea in the greater part of its extent would most likely be healthy; but it is, in all essentials, so manifestly inferior to Old Harbour, that a very minute examination of it was deemed unnecessary.

74. Landfall Island and the Cocos were not explored. The former only was looked at, but as both of them are too directly in the track of commerce, and are deficient in harbours, they are evidently not suited for convict settlements; no time was, therefore, wasted in exploring them.

Landfall Island and the Cocos.

75. The land on the northern part of the western shore is everywhere much lower than the corresponding portions of the eastern coast.

General appearance of the Western Coast.

76. An attempt to approach the opening in the western end of the strait, supposed to exist between the Northern and Middle Andamans, failed, the steamer grounding on a coral bank at a distance of two miles from the entrance. As the strait, in these circumstances, is utterly useless for the purposes of navigation, no further time was spent in exploring it.

77. In conclusion the Committee are of opinion that Old Harbour is the only place that possesses the greater number of the requisites for a Penal Settlement, and they accordingly recommend its occupation for that purpose, in preference to any other of the localities visited and examined.

Old Harbour.

78. They cannot refrain from taking advantage of this opportunity to record their admiration of the great judgment of Lieutenant Blair, in originally selecting that spot, and of his accuracy as a Hydrographer.

Tribute to Lieutenant Blair.

79. They also beg to suggest that, as considerable practical inconvenience may result hereafter from the identity of names in the two former settlements, that the name of the Old Harbour may be changed to Port Blair, in honour of that distinguished Officer.

80. So little is known of the inhabitants of the Andamans, and that little is so mixed up with fable and fiction, as to have induced the Committee to pay more than ordinary attention to all measures calculated to open an amicable intercourse with them, and to throw light upon their habits and customs. From first to last they rejected every attempt at conciliation, and either avoided, or forcibly opposed all attempts to hold communion with them.

Ethnology of the Andamans.

81. Traces of them were found on Chatham Island and the shores of Port Cornwallis generally, but no native was seen there.

82. The first contact with them occurred at Craggy Island. On rounding that place to anchor under its shelter, a large party of them were surprised fishing on a reef running out from the mainland, with a few separated from them on a sandy spit of the island. The latter we conjecture to have been women, and they had a small canoe lying on the beach. As soon as the steamer had anchored, the Committee landed in two well armed boats. The people who had been seen on the islet had disappeared in the dense jungle which covered it. In the canoe, which with its contents was left exactly as it was found, beads and looking glasses were placed, and the party immediately re-embarked, to show the natives that their intentions were friendly, and free from even the semblance of hostility.

83. During and previous to the time occupied by this proceeding, the men on the reef, ten or twelve in number, exhibited every sign of the most implacable hostility. They gesticulated violently, vociferated, waived bows and arrows, and one of them brandished a spear with a metallic head, which gleamed brightly in the rays of the setting sun. Another of them waded to his waist in the sea, howled defiance, and shot a couple of arrows in the direction of the steamer.

84. They were all naked, and intensely black. They appeared strong, well built, sturdy men of middle size, and did not exhibit the smallest fear of us.

85. We approached to them as close as the surf on the reef permitted, waiving handkerchiefs, and shouting the word *Padoo* which is given in a vocabulary published in the Asiatic Researches by Colebrooke as signifying " friend " in the language of the natives of the Andamans.

86. All was in vain, and as the Committee were most desirous to avoid collision with them in their angry mood, which might have been caused by a belief that their women were in danger, the boats were withdrawn, and pulled to the Southward to seek a safe landing place preparatory to searching for signs of fresh water. Five of the

savages ran along the beach for more than a mile, and then disappeared in the jungle.

87. On rounding a point some two miles from the reef, a shelving, shingle beach was found, on which a landing was effected. There was a large hut close to it, which was scrupulously respected, and presents were placed in it. Sentries were posted near the boats to prevent surprise, and the party proceeded northward along the shore, to look for a watering place. The advanced guard had scarcely walked a hundred yards, when arrows were fired at them from an open patch of jungle. The attack was immediately repelled by a volley of musketry, which did no damage, but frightened away the savages, who were not again seen that evening. As it was getting dusk, it was not deemed prudent to run any further risk of collision. The party was, therefore, re-embarked without further adventure.

88. On the following morning, the canoe was found to have been removed, and for some time no natives were seen. As the steamer was leaving they reappeared, and repeated their pantomime of hostility and defiance.

89. Thus ended the first attempt to become acquainted with the dreaded Anthropophagi.

90. The Committee are particular in relating the incidents connected with their first essay, as the same spirit of conciliation marked all their efforts, and in every instance in which collision occurred, the aggressors were the savages.

91. On four occasions they attacked the approaching party, and were repelled without bloodshed. On two others they disappeared, leaving their huts with fires still kindled, and their canoes at the mercy of the Committee. Bows, arrows, nets, and such of their utensils or weapons as were calculated to throw light on their customs, were taken, their canoes and dwellings were respected, and presents were invariably left in them.

92. The last attempt to approach them was the least happy in its results, and occurred where an untoward end was least to be expected.

93. It happened at South Reef Island, near the southern extremity of Interview Island. All published accounts of the Andamans

agree in representing the inhabitants of Interview Island as more sociable, less savage, and more disposed to friendly relations with strangers, than those of any other portion of the Andaman Group. They have been described as aiding in discharging the cargoes of wrecked vessels, and performing other acts of amity, which led the Committee to believe that they differed essentially from all others of the aborigines with whom they had vainly striven to establish friendly relations, and that their advances would at length be met in the spirit in which they were offered.

94. After steaming round Interview Island to ascertain its general physical characters, the *Pluto* passed to the Southward of South Reef Island, and had turned again to the North, when a group of natives, about 30 in number, were observed assembled together on the beach, gazing quietly at the steamer as she passed. There were seven canoes lying on the beach, and the party were evidently waiting for the low tide to fish on the reef.

95. The Committee left the steamer in the first cutter. The second cutter followed as a support in case of need, under the charge of Mr. Cotgrave, Midshipman of the *Semiramis*

96. On approaching the island, the natives had taken to their canoes; the boats followed, and soon gained upon them. All arms were carefully concealed, and all gestures calculated to alarm the natives were avoided. When within a hundred yards of them they exhibited bows and arrows, and began the usual gestures of hostility, exactly as witnessed on the east coast.

97. Three of their canoes were isolated from the rest. The men in the first cutter ceased rowing, and the boat drifted quietly towards them. Handkerchiefs were waived, presents were held up and shown, the shiboleth, *Padoo*, was shouted, and no act of hostility was committed by anyone in the cutter.

98. The leading canoe was seen to be gradually edging away and when within about fifteen yards of us, the men in all the canoes simultaneously started up, and discharged a flight of arrows at the first cutter, with considerable force and precision. Lieutenant Heathcote, a seaman, and Dr. Mouat's jemadar were struck with arrows

in the first cutter, and one man was wounded in the same manner in the second cutter, which had come up by this time. As the savages were well supplied with arrows, and were about to repeat their aggression, the Committee opened fire upon them. Three of them were shot dead, and the rest abandoned their canoes to swim to the shore, which the greater number of them were seen to reach in safety. The moment the natives were unable to continue the action, the cutter's crew were ordered to cease firing, and no pursuit was attempted, as the savages were considered to have been sufficiently punished for their aggression.

99. One of the natives, when in the water, seized a strap thrown to him from the second cutter, and was taken on board. The Committee deliberated anxiously as to the disposal of this man, whether to release, or to carry him to Calcutta. They ultimately decided on the latter course as the one required by the interests of humanity, although attended with hardship to the individual, until he can be instructed sufficiently to know the reasons which led to his removal from his country and kindred.

100. In the future occupation of the Andamans, it is of the utmost importance to the wretched outcasts occupying its shores, that the means of communicating with them should exist. They are at present either so savage or so ignorant as to regard all new-comers as enemies, to resist all attempts at intercourse as aggressions, and to put themselves out of the pale of humanity by the violence and mistrust of their proceedings. The contact with civilization in such circumstances can only end in their destruction, whereas if they can be persuaded that no harm is intended to them, it is not visionary to hope that the means of reclaiming and restoring them to a place in the human family, which they do not now occupy, may be found.

101. It may also be the means of saving the lives of those who may hereafter be cast away on their dreaded and inhospitable shores, should the savages be taught, that to treat them kindly will be to be rewarded, while murder and violence will meet with the most certain, swift, and stern punishment.

102. To ascertain their manners and customs, and to establish

their identity with any existing portion of the Negro race, to which they clearly belong, would solve the mystery of ages, and lead to a knowledge of the probable manner in which Asiatic Islands came to be occupied by an African people.

103. To gain some knowledge of recent shipwrecks and what has become of the unfortunate castaways is also of the deepest interest, and may lead to the rescue of any unfortunate individuals who may be in captivity among them, should such exist. This is by no means improbable, as we have every reason to doubt that the savages are cannibals, and found evidence that shipwrecks are not uncommon on these islands.

104. All these objects can only be accomplished through the instrumentality of a native of the islands, old enough to be acquainted with their manners, customs, language, and traditions, if any exist, and not too old to be beyond the reach of instruction. To himself, once the shock of the severance of his ties and associations is past, the end can only be one of advantage, in rescuing him from a precarious existence in the lowest scale of humanity, and in rendering him the instrument of much probable future good to his own race.

105. For these reasons, the Committee venture earnestly to hope that their proceedings will meet with the approval of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of India in Council, and that steps will be taken to train and educate the individual referred to, so as to gain a knowledge of his language, and to send him back to the Andamans to be the means of communication between the Settlement and the inhabitants.

106. The identity in the construction of their huts and implements of all kinds, in the making and management of their canoes, and in their habits, so far as they could be learnt from the little the Committee were able to see of them, lead the Committee to believe that the same tribe occupy the whole of the Group examined.

107. They are evidently dwarf Negroes, with all the physical characters of Africans. They appear not to exceed five feet in height, to be strong and tolerably well built, and all those we saw were in good condition.

108. They frequent reefs and rocks where shell-fish exist in abundance and are easily caught. When they have exhausted one place, they migrate to another. At Port Campbell, we found one village recently abandoned, and another in course of construction, the palms covering the huts being green and fresh. The latter was within a mile of the former.

109. In no place did we discover the smallest attempt to cultivate the soil, or to penetrate to the interior. The few paths we found were short in extent and led to water-courses; beyond them the primeval forest was untouched and untrodden by man.

110. Their huts are rude and open on all sides. In general, they consist of four posts, the two anterior being much higher than the two posterior ones, which are close to the ground. The former varies from three or four to about ten feet in height. The thatch generally consisted of a few palm leaves lightly bound together and overlapping each other.

111. In every village there were one or two huts of larger dimensions, some twelve or fourteen feet square, with well thatched roofs plaited on a rattan frame.

112. One quadrangular hut was seen supported on corner posts, with the eaves of the thatch within a foot and a half of the ground. Most of the others were quite open in front and at the sides, the rear being protected by the thatch reaching nearly to the ground.

113. In many of the huts, bunches of the skulls of fish, pigs, and tortoises were hung up. The skulls were variously marked of red colour. Near all the huts were found an abundance of empty shells.

114. The canoes are scooped out of the trunks of trees and vary considerably in size. The process must be extremely tedious, as it is performed by a dwarf adze with a wooden head, in which a small, sharp, semi-circular blade of iron beaten out, is placed. This is sharpened on a stone, which was invariably found with it. The canoes are propelled by bamboo poles and paddles, the latter consisting of a handle about three feet and a half long, with a small blade, either pointed or circular at the end. Many of them were ornamented by cross lines of red paint.

115. The canoes which put to sea are armed with an outrigger, very similar to that used by the Cingalese.

116. In the canoes were found small hand-nets, bows and arrows, nets containing empty shells, old nails, bits of stone, and similar rubbish.

117. One large strong net, with immense meshes, and singular floats, was taken. It appears to be used for catching turtle, as it must be too large for any fish under the size of a shark, and not strong enough to capture the latter. The floats are pieces of wood, four feet in length, with a sheaf of shavings at the end. The net had stones attached to it as weights.

118. Their weapons consist of bows and arrows, of two kinds. One form of bow is flat and gracefully formed, the other much stronger and rougher.

119. Photographs of all these will be submitted, as soon as they can be taken.

120. The arrows are of several kinds, and generally about four feet in length. Some of them are of simple, hard pointed wood let into a straight reed. Others are pointed with iron and barbed. Some of the barbed heads are attached to the reed by a strong cord waxed and tied to both the head and shaft of the arrow.

121. In some of the huts were found what appear to be shields of hard red wood, of considerable size, but of which the probable use is not well determined.

122. They manufacture a tough cord from a strong fibrous bark, and scoop out blocks of wood for vessels to contain fresh water. The usual drinking cup is an emptynautilus shell.

123. They have small wicker baskets, which are fastened to the waist when they are fishing, by a coil of strong coarse flat cord, of which three or four folds were seen round their bodies. To the end is attached a piece of iron beaten into the form of a knife blade, probably to open shells.

124. The only vegetable food found in their canoes or habitations was the fruit of the mangrove, a large leguminous bean, and some wild spinach. The former is sliced in shreds, and placed to soak in

fresh water in a small, closely woven net. We did not ascertain whether they are eaten cooked or raw.

125. The inhabitants seen by us were all entirely naked. The top of the head and the anterior part of the chest were covered by a red clay, which was found kept in large shells. Their bodies are scarred in lines by a cutting instrument, being a savage form of tattooing.

126. All hair is removed from their scalps and bodies with the exception of the upper lip of the men, where a scanty amount of stunted woolly hair was seen.

127. No indication of cannibalism was found in connection with their dwellings, not a human bone or relic of any description being found, either of their own dead, or of the bodies of the people wrecked on their coast.

128. The two largest villages seen were on the southern shore of Old Harbour, the one containing twenty-two, the other fourteen huts. In general, three or four huts were all that were found together.

129. We had no means of estimating even approximately the probable population of the Great Andaman, and from the migratory habits of the people, it will be difficult to form any accurate conclusion on the subject. They were in larger numbers on the western, than on the eastern coast, so far as we could see.

General physical characters of the Great Andaman.

130. The island called the Great Andaman is about 125 miles long, with a breadth varying from five to sixteen miles.

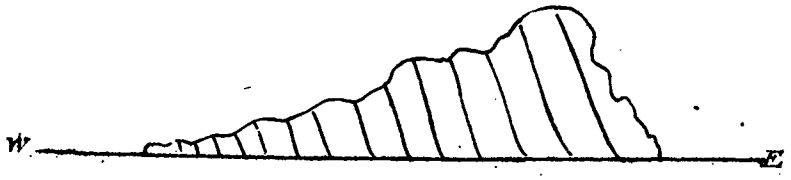
131. Its length runs North and South in the 93° of East Longitude, and between the 11th and 14th parallels of North Latitude.

132. Strictly, the Great Andaman is formed by three islands, distinguished as North, Middle, and South.

133. The two latter are separated by a strait averaging a quarter of a mile in breadth and extending for twelve miles North-West and South-East. It has a considerable depth of water all through, but the eastern entrance, owing to the presence of a bar, has only a depth of one and a half fathoms. The two former are separated by a labyrinth of narrow channels meandering through the

swamps, but there is no distinct passage or strait, of which the existence is indicated as probable in Lieutenant Blair's chart.

134. Looking at the Great Andaman as one island, a section of it from east to west would exhibit something of this form :—



The highest land wherever seen is on the eastern, and gradually descends towards its western shore.

135. The water-shed is, therefore, chiefly towards the west, and consequently it is on that side of the island that marshy localities will most probably abound.

136. A section of the island from North to South shows the existence of several elevated ridges which have all one characteristic in common, their highest point is towards the North and they gradually decrease in height to the South, until they terminate either in low marsh land as at Andaman Strait, or in undulating land of moderate elevation as to the south of Old Port Cornwallis.

137. Rutland Island, which in fact might be looked on as a continuation of the Great Andaman, has also its high mountains which gradually sink towards the South into a succession of low undulating hills.

138. To the North of Port Cornwallis the island is formed of a series of low hills, having the usual outline common to trap formations.

139. Immediately to the South from that port, the land rises until about seven miles to the South, it reaches its highest elevation in the Saddle Mountain, the height of which is 2,400 feet. It then gradually decreases for the next 14 miles, when the hills terminate and there is some extent of land similar in character to the Sunderbunds, low swamps covered with mangroves, and intersected by narrow canal-like passages, filled or half empty as the tide rises and falls.

140. A few miles to the South, the land again reaches a considerable elevation and retains it for 18 miles, when it resumes a lower character, but we are unable to say to what extent, as this portion of the coast opposite the Archipelago was not examined.

141. At the eastern entrance of Middle Strait, hills are again prominent, become more so a few miles to the South, pass Old Harbour, and terminate at Macpherson's Straits.

142. Of the Geology of the island we have not had sufficient opportunities to warrant any detailed description.

143. Specimens of rocks have been collected from every locality where we landed, but it will require some time, and the assistance of a practical geologist to arrange and classify them.

144. In an economical point of view, the discovery of extensive beds of silicious sandstone, and limestone, is important, as affording a supply of materials necessary for a settlement.

145. The hills throughout the Island are covered from their summit to their base with luxuriant vegetation, and will supply any amount of material for building and other purposes. They include Bamboos, Palms, and Rattans, as well as timber trees.

146. On the East coast as far South as Long Island, there is a great deficiency of water; we noticed few running streams.

147. It is probably in consequence of this, that there are so few birds in that part of the island.

148. At Old Port Cornwallis where water abounds, there were numerous birds, but our occupations did not permit of any collection worthy of note being made.

149. The only Mammal whose existence we ascertained was the Pig, their skulls being found suspended in the huts of the savages.

Hydrographical features of the Great Andaman.

150. Throughout the expedition we found the "General chart of the Andamans" by Lieutenant Archibald Blair (a manuscript copy of which was obtained from the Surveyor General's Office prior to leaving Calcutta) of the greatest use. It has always proved a safe and certain guide to all those parts of the islands which had been examined by him in detail, and it was only in those spots where his survey has

been less minute that we have found it to be at all defective, and all these localities have been found to be of such a nature as to be of no practical utility, either in themselves, or from being beset with dangers which renders them so. Thus we found the strait which connects Port Andaman with Stewart's Sound to be impassable even for a boat at low water, and the western coast in the parallel of Old Port Cornwallis is so deeply fringed with coral as to render the fine harbour, which was there discovered, and has been before alluded to, all but useless.

151. But those places which have been attentively surveyed, as evinced by the fullness of the detail represented on the chart, such as Old and New Port Cornwallis, Rutland Island, Port Campbell, etc., we found to be in exactly the same condition as delineated by Blair nearly 70 years ago. This was particularly observable in the Middle Strait, where islets of only 50 yards in length appear in precisely the same state, both as to size, elevation, and position, as that represented by the first surveyor. The very vegetation upon them would give the idea of its being the growth of only the last Monsoon, and the only signs of age are the dead stems and branches of trees standing amongst the low mangrove, stunted by want of the free access of the waters of the ocean.

152. The permanency of the features of this passage is no doubt attributable in the first place to the hard sandstone formation, which is prevalent in the neighbourhood and which forms the foundation of these islets, as well as of the points which govern the windings of the strait; further, the tides are week and carry no silt with them and the drainage is merely that of the adjacent hills, which would amount in the aggregate to 50 square miles, and this being distributed along the whole length of the Strait, is far too small to effect it.

153. The whole of the shores of the Andamans are skirted by continuous coral reefs. Coral abounds in every bay and is strewn in broken pieces on every beach. These reefs are far more extensive, and form dangers to a far greater distance from the land on the West side than on the East, depths of 100 fathoms being found in many

places on the eastern shore within three miles of the coast, and generally at a distance of five miles, whereas on the western shore the reefs extend and form dangerous patches at a distance of twenty and twenty-five miles from the land, a fact the probability of which is sufficiently indicated by the geological feature of the Islands, the general dip of the stratified rocks being to the eastward and at a high angle, sometimes as much as 75°.

154. We were unable to make any observation on the growth of the coral, both on account of the chart being on too small a scale for such a purpose, and our own time not permitting.

155. Navigation amongst coral must at all times be hazardous, and the most minute survey may fail to detect some of the isolated rocks formed by the insect, of the approach to which no warning is to be found. The banks which exist so far to the westward must always prove an impediment to the prosperity of a colony established at Interview Island, or in any part of the western coast.

156. The hydrographical features of the several places visited have so direct a bearing on the point we are called upon to decide, that it has been thought better to include them in the general description of those localities where they will be found.

157. We are happy to have it in our power to report that, notwithstanding the constant exposure of our party in boats, and in penetrating primeval jungle never before traversed, not a single case of sickness occurred from beginning to end.

Absence of sickness.

We have, etc.,

(Sd.) FRED. J. MOUAT, M.D., *President*,
Surgeon, Bengal Army.

„ GEORGE R. PLAYFAIR, M.D.,
Surgeon, Bengal Army.

„ J. S. HEATHCOTE,
Lieutenant, I.N.

No. 87, dated the 15th January, 1858.

From.—C. BEADON, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,

To—Captain H. MAN, Executive Engineer and Superintendent of Convicts at Moulmein.

It has been determined by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council to establish a penal settlement on the Andaman Islands, for the reception, in the first instance, of convicts sentenced to imprisonment, and to transportation, for the crimes of mutiny and rebellion and for other offences connected therewith, and eventually for the reception of all convicts under sentence of transportation, whom, for any reason, it may not be thought expedient to send to the Straits Settlements or to the Tenasserim Provinces.

2. A Committee, as you are aware, was recently appointed to examine these Islands, with a view to the selection of a site for the above purpose. The Committee after examining as carefully and closely as possible all the localities in the coast which offer facilities for the establishment of such a settlement, have reported decisively in favour of the old harbour on the East Coast of the Great Andaman in North Latitude 11°-42′.

3. A copy of the Committee's report is forwarded for your information. The Governor General in Council, after attentively considering the reasons given for the selection of Old Harbour, is satisfied that it is a site, if not the best, at any rate admirably adapted for the purpose in view. It is the one chosen as the place of a Settlement by Lieutenant Blair in 1789, known by experience to be salubrious, possessing abundance of wood and water, sheltered from the monsoon, and particularly convenient for the location, separation, and management of convicts of different classes.

4. His Lordship in Council has determined therefore that a penal settlement for the objects above mentioned shall be established on the Andaman Islands, and that a commencement shall be made at the Old Harbour, which will hereafter be distinguished by the name of Port Blair in honour of the Officer who discovered and accurately surveyed it upwards of 80 years ago, and by whom its advantages were foreseen and appreciated.

5. In forming the Settlement and taking the first steps towards carrying out the views of the Government of India (to be presently explained) the Governor General in Council is desirous of availing himself of your experience in convict management, and I am accordingly directed to request that on the receipt of these instructions you will prepare to proceed as soon as possible in the *Pluto* to Port Blair, in order to make arrangements for the reception of the convicts who will shortly be sent there, and to lay down the details of a plan for their location, employment, and general control.

6. It may be assumed that the class of rebels and mutineers who are sentenced by the Civil and Military tribunals to the secondary punishment of transportation, or to imprisonment, will not include any of the worst offenders; and, therefore, that the convicts with whom you will have to deal in the first instance, will, for the most part, be men who have been led to the commission of crimes against the State by the example of others, and not men of a desperate or unmanageable character.

7. The Governor General in Council is therefore inclined to think that the bulk of the convicts on their arrival at the Settlement may at once be put in a position analogous to that allowed to convicts of the third class in the Straits Settlements, and that the best among them should be promoted at once to a class similar to the second class in the Straits, and employed as Sirdars or Tindals over the others. Degradation to a fourth or lower class, and the imposition of irons, may probably be reserved as punishments for the refractory.

8. The first step to be taken however is the selection of a site for the residence of the Superintendent, for a barrack to accommodate the guard of Europeans which it will be necessary to entertain there for some time to come, for a store house, and for such other buildings as may be required. In the opinion of the Governor General in Council the best place that can be chosen for this purpose is Chatham Island in the centre of the harbour, and His Lordship in Council considers that no time should be lost in clearing the island and collecting materials for building. Whether the buildings shall be of masonry or whether they shall be of wood, such as those commonly used in the

Burmese Provinces, His Lordship in Council leaves to your judgment. The latter is probably to be preferred; and, as the climate and other conditions of the island are similar to those of Burmah, it is essential that all buildings should be well raised on piles or pillars after the fashion usually adopted by the Burmese. You will on no account omit this precaution. The clearance of the island should be performed in the first instance by Burmese coolies, either free or convict, whom you can take with you from Moulmein for the purpose, and should be carried on afterwards by the mutineer and rebel convicts on their arrival. Until the island is cleared and houses built, the Superintendent and guard must remain on board the *Pluto* in the first instance, and afterwards in a guard ship which will be provided from hence for the service.

9. The Governor General in Council conceives that eventually when the Island is cleared and accommodation provided thereon for the reception of the Superintendent and his guard, the main body of the convicts will be employed in clearing and cultivating the main land contiguous, and that none will be permitted to approach the Island, but the few who may be employed by the Superintendent upon duties which may make their presence there necessary.

10. As long as the Superintendent is obliged to keep his headquarters on board the *Pluto* or the guard ship, the rations for the convicts and coolies on shore should be served out over the ship's side to the persons appointed to receive them, and no mutineer or rebel convict should under any circumstances whatever be permitted to go on board either vessel.

11. Convict lines should, if necessary, be established at first on Chatham Island, and should consist of temporary huts to be constructed by the Burmese coolies or the convicts themselves, or of pauls to be supplied for the purpose. The lines to be established on the main land should be huts of a more durable character to be built by the convicts under the guidance of Burmese artisans, and after an uniform plan suitable to the climate and country and approved by the Superintendent. From the beginning, whether on Chatham Island or on the main land, and whether in the construction of temporary

or of permanent huts or houses, you will pay special attention to providing a good drainage fall. There is no want of water at Port Blair; but it will generally have to be obtained from wells; and the absence of natural drainage by moving streams makes it necessary that this object should be kept in view.

12. The convicts should be organised in gangs of a convenient size, each under the superintendence of a Tindal appointed from among their number, and assisted by a convict peon or two. The duty of the Tindal would be to see that the convicts under him perform the daily task allotted to them, to receive the daily rations and regulate the mess, to bring to the notice of the Superintendent the good or ill conduct of the several convicts composing his gang, and generally to be responsible for their behaviour. In forming the gangs, men of the same religion may, as far as shall be otherwise convenient, be brought together; but a gang once formed must invariably mess together, and no objection to obey orders on the ground of caste is to be admitted.

13. The Superintendent should never leave the guard ship to go on shore without being accompanied by a sufficient guard. While the convicts are employed upon Chatham Island they should not have any weapons in their possession but those which they use in clearing the jungle. When they are located in the main land, it may be necessary to arm a limited number of them with muskets to keep off the savages.

14. It is not the intention of the Governor General in Council to propose that you should remain for any length of time in Port Blair. His Lordship in Council wishes you carefully to select an officer, in or out of the service of Government, in whom you can entirely confide, and to nominate him as Superintendent of the Settlement for the approval of the Government. With the assistance of this officer you are requested to organise the expedition for the purpose of establishing the Settlement, to entertain and arm a sufficient guard probably of European sailors trained to the use of fire-arms, to collect all the tools and materials you may think necessary for commencing operations, to lay in supplies of rice, wheat, ghee, salt, drugs, and other neces-

saries* sufficient for the supply of 1,000 convicts for three months, and to engage as many Burmese coolies (free or convict) as you may think necesary to enable you vigorously to commence and make good progress in clearing Chatham Island and erecting temporary lines before the prisoners begin to arrive from India. If the *Pluto* is not sufficiently large to accommodate the party or to convey all the stores, you can obtain from the Commissioner, or hire, a small sailing vessel for the purpose. A medical officer should accompany the expedition, and a native doctor to attend on the convicts.

* Firewood may be obtained in abundance on the spot. Tobacco should be prohibited, except as a medicine. Seeds and live-stock should be provided.

15. After you have put matters fairly in train, and thoroughly instructed the Superintendent in the system you determine to introduce, you will be at liberty to return to your duties at Moulmein and thereafter visit the Settlement at intervals: but upon this point you will receive instructions hereafter. The Superintendent will continue for the present entirely under your authority and control.

16. The Commissioner will be instructed to place the *Pluto* at your disposal for this service and to give you every aid in his power towards the furtherance of the important object in view. It is of the greatest moment that the expedition should proceed without delay as 218 convict mutineers from the Punjab will shortly leave Karachi in vessels which have been directed to proceed to Port Blair and will probably be there in a month or six weeks hence.

17. You are requested to submit without delay a sketch of the plan you propose to adopt and of the strength and cost of the establishment which you think it necessary to entertain. You will also report to the Public Works Department the arrangement you make for the conduct of your other duties during your temporary absence from Moulmein. While you are employed on this special undertaking, the Governor General in Council will allow you R300 a month as deputation in addition to your present pay and allowances.

18. A more elaborate expression of your views will be expected by the Governor General in Council immediately after your first return from the Settlement.

19. There remains one important point upon which, although it does not call for immediate action, it is necessary that you should be in possession of the views of the Governor General in Council.

20. Many hundred Mutineers and Rebels will before long be established at Port Blair. The congregation of so large a body of male convicts, not held under the strict discipline which can be enforced only within prison walls, is a gigantic evil. It is true that it is one which in some places has been submitted to from necessities arising out of the position or nature of the Penal Establishment, of the character of the convicts, or other causes. But this is not the case in the Andaman Islands. There is plenty of room for the wives and families of the prisoners. There is no free community to whom their presence can be objectionable. The character of very many of the convicts themselves will not be that of morally degraded criminals, but of grievous political offenders. There is no reason why the same wise consideration which requires that in the case of free emigrants to our colonies, the colony should receive a certain proportion of women as well as men, should not be kept in view in the present instance. You will, therefore, understand it to be the desire of the Governor General in Council that eventually the wives and children of some of the mutineers should follow them from India.

21. That they would do so at once, even if invited, is not likely; nor is it likely that the convicts would wish to be accompanied by them across the "black water": and the Governor General in Council has no intention of removing any of them forcibly at present. But it is very probable that with time, and if the permission to be joined by their wives and families be made a reward to prisoners for good behaviour, and limited to a certain number, and if those who deserve the indulgence be allowed to communicate with their homes, the repugnance may on each side cease to be felt.

22. You will then keep this object before you as an ultimate aim of the Government; not requiring any immediate measures, but to be worked out according to your judgment and the experience of those with whom you will have to deal.

No. 88, dated the 15th January 1858.

From—C. BEADON, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,

To—Captain H. MAN, Executive Engineer and Superintendent of Convicts at Moulmein.

In continuation of my letter No. 87 of this date, I am directed to request that on your arrival at Port Blair you will hoist the British Flag and take formal possession of the group of Islands called the Andaman Islands, consisting of the Great and Little Andamans and all the Islands adjacent thereto, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen and the East India Company.

2. Although it is certain that formal possession of these islands was taken by the British Government in 1789, and that the sovereignty of them is legally vested in the East India Company in trust for the British Crown, yet as they were deserted in 1796, and have been only nominally in possession of the Government ever since, it is desirable, as a measure of precaution and to avoid the possibility of future doubt, that the right should be again asserted and recorded.

3. I am also directed to state that the Governor General in Council has been pleased to vest you with full judicial and executive authority throughout the Andaman Islands, and to appoint you to be a Commissioner therein under Acts No. XIV and XVII of 1857 for the trial of all persons charged with having committed within the said Islands any crime against the State, or any heinous crime whatever.

Extract from a Despatch from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors in the Political Department, No. 19 of 1858, dated the 18th May.

OUR GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

Foreign Letter,	dated	8th	April,	No.	24, 1857.
„	„	„	2nd May,	„	33, 1857.
„	„	„	2nd May,	„	34, 1857.
„	„	„	9th September,	„	58, 1857.
Judicial	„	„	7th January,	„	2, 1858.
„	„	„	19th January,	„	3, 1858.

1. We now reply to your several letters noted in the margin, relating to the survey of the Andaman Islands.

2. On the receipt of our letter of the 1st of October 1856, directing you to despatch, at your earliest convenience, a steamer with a surveying party under competent directions for the exploration of the islands, the season had advanced too far to admit of preparations being made for the commencement of the proposed survey (there being no steamer then available for the purpose), but in the early part of the following cold season the importance of the Andaman Islands, as a convenient place for the reception of convicts, having, in the meanwhile, been greatly enhanced by the mutiny in the Bengal Army, you nominated on the 20th of November last, a Committee consisting of Doctors Mouat and Playfair of the Bengal Medical Establishment, and Lieutenant J. A. Heathcote of the Indian Navy, "to examine the shores of the Andaman Group of Islands, and select the best site, which could be found there, for the establishment of a penal settlement."

3. In accordance with instructions from your Government, the Committee proceeded to Moulmein on the 23rd of November, on board the Steam Frigate *Semiramis*, and on the 8th of December they again embarked at that place on board the *Pluto*, taking with them 12 Burmese convicts "accustomed to forests" and a guard of three convict peons; besides an officer and twenty European seamen from the crew of the *Semiramis*, to protect the exploring parties.

4. On the 11th of December, the *Pluto* anchored in Port Cornwallis, off the northern coast of Chatham Island, where a British Settlement had existed for some years towards the close of the last century, and had been finally abandoned in 1796, on account of its extreme unhealthiness. The Committee were anxious, as a preliminary to their investigations, to ascertain the causes of this reputed insalubrity, and they were not long left in doubt regarding them. "It appears," say the Committee, "to have been ill selected as a site for a settlement, two-thirds of its own shore being fringed with a dense belt of mangrove, and the prevailing winds during the greater part of the year, at its most unhealthy season, blowing over the swamp surrounding the island. Conditions more certainly calculated to secure the largest measure of unhealthiness, it would be difficult to find."

5. Having ascertained this fact, the Committee proceeded to make a general exploration of the Andaman Group, and eventually returned to Old Harbour, which, we apprehend, is on the south-eastern coast of the southernmost of the three islands known as the Great Andaman. This was the first place fixed upon for the original settlement, and successfully maintained by Lieutenant Blair, until, for the sake of better anchorage, the colony was removed to Port Cornwallis, which lies to the north-east of the islands. No inconvenience on the score of unhealthiness had been experienced by our first settlers in the more southern locality, and when the Committee proceeded to examine it, they found that it fulfilled many of the most important conditions of a healthy place of residence. They accordingly recorded a strong opinion in its favour. "The Committee," they wrote, "are not aware of any physical indications by which the healthiness of an uncleared locality can be absolutely predicated, but so far as ordinary experience can be accepted as a safe guide, Old Harbour seems to afford fair promise of proving as healthy as any locality similarly situated in a tropical region. Its means of drainage are ample and most efficient, the removal of all effete matter beyond the reach of causing mischief will be easy, and any possible existing tracts of marsh land do not lie in the direction of the prevailing winds. We are therefore of opinion that as a small portion of it (Chatham Island) proved continuously healthy during the time it was occupied, sixty years since, with ordinary care in the construction of buildings and strict attention to conservancy arrangements, a more extended and permanent settlement will prove equally salubrious."

6. The Committee afterwards visited other parts of the Andaman Group, but they found no spot fulfilling so many conditions essential to success, and they finally arrived at the conclusion that "Old Harbour is the only place that possesses the greater number of the requisites for a penal settlement, and they accordingly recommend its occupation for that purpose, in preference to any other of the localities visited and examined."

7. The natural resources of the proposed locality which the Committee recommend should be named "Port Blair" in honour of the

intelligent officer whose name is identified with our first efforts to colonize the Andaman Islands, are said to be considerable. There is an abundance of good water, much culturable land, and, judging by the luxuriance of the vegetation, a generally fertile soil; there is excellent clay for the manufacture of bricks, an inexhaustible supply of sandstone for building purposes, and large forest trees for timber, circumstances which will greatly facilitate your operations for the establishment of the proposed settlement.

8. With regard to the inhabitants of the islands, the report of the Committee bears out, except in one particular, the description given by former authorities. The exploring parties could find no trace of cannibalism, but the inhabitants are represented as of an exceedingly savage, suspicious, and implacable character, resenting all our efforts at intercourse, and inviting hostilities whenever our people approached them. The proceedings of the expedition towards these poor people were distinguished by the greatest forbearance and humanity; but the aggressiveness of the savages was such that collision could not be altogether avoided, and in one affray invited by the natives, three of their number were killed, and one prisoner was taken and subsequently carried to Calcutta, with the view of educating him, and making him a medium of communication with the natives, by means of which they might be taught that our intentions towards the people of the islands are of the most friendly character. The man however soon sickened in Bengal, and you were compelled to send him back to his native island, but not without the hope that by furnishing him with a number of useful articles of peace, as well as with certain objects of savage finery, a favourable impression might still be made upon the minds of these strange people.

9. The admirable manner in which Dr. Mouat and his associates in the Committee of exploration performed the duties entrusted to them, is sufficient proof of the wisdom of the selection. They evinced great intelligence and sound discretion in the prosecution of their investigations; and in their dealings with the savage people of the island, a laudable humanity and forbearance. Their report is extremely curious and interesting; and we do not doubt that you will

cause it to be included in the published selections from the records of your Government, taking care to illustrate it with an intelligible map, the want of which at present very much impairs the value of the Report.

10. This report having been taken into the consideration of your Government, you were of opinion that a convict settlement might be advantageously established at Port Blair. You, therefore, directed Captain Man, the Executive Engineer and Superintendent of Convicts at Moulmein, to proceed to hoist the British Flag, and to take formal possession of the group of Islands, called the Andaman Islands, consisting of the Great and Little Andamans, and all the Islands adjacent thereto, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, and the East India Company; and you made arrangements for a party of convicts, mostly sepoy mutineers, who had been sent down from the Punjab to Karachi, to be conveyed at once to Port Blair, instead of to the Tenasserim provinces, as originally intended.

11. On the subject of the proposed penal settlement, and the disposal of the convicts, we shall address you separately in the Judicial Department. In the meanwhile, we record our entire approval of the measures which you have adopted to bring the Andaman Islands again under the authority of the British Government. But we must express our earnest desire that all possible precautions may be taken to protect the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andamans from those collisions with the convicts which, it is only too probable, will be provoked on both sides, and which, once commenced, are so likely to end in the extermination of the weaker race. Such precautions are rendered the more indispensable by the circumstances stated in the papers before us, that you purpose to place arms in the hands of some of the convict sepoys, for purposes of self-defence, a step which, on all other grounds, it was obviously expedient to avoid.

CHAPTER VIII.

Opening of the Settlement by Dr. Walker—Trouble given by the convicts escaping—Severe measures taken—Inefficient guard—Letter to Dr. Walker—Measures taken to improve discipline and health—Search for thatching leaves resulted in a collision with the Aborigines—Guard strengthened—Enlargement of the Settlement—Dr. Walker's proposals for the protection of the Aborigines—Answers of the Government of India—Viper Island occupied—The Andamanese collect in large numbers, and are hostile—Attacks by the Andamanese—The "Battle of Aberdeen"—Dudhnath Tewari's account of the Andamanese—Remarks on the account—Boorhana's false account of the Andamanese—Boorhana's account of a wreck on Rutland Island—Dr. Walker's resignation—Captain Haughton succeeds him.

A DETAILED history of the formation of our present Penal Settlement on the Andaman Islands is not within the province of this work, but it is necessary that certain facts regarding the progress of the Settlement should be occasionally mentioned, as this for the first few years was intimately connected with our relations with the Aborigines, and his policy towards the Andamanese was one of the most difficult duties of the Superintendent, as he had to observe the orders from the Court of Directors and the Government of India that the Andamanese were not to be ill-treated or in any way injured, and also to take steps to protect the convicts at work in the jungle from the attacks of the savages, which even endangered the general safety of the Settlement.

Having once decided on their policy in the Andaman Islands, the Government of India lost no time in carrying it out.

For various reasons the orders contained in letter No. 87 of the 15th January, 1858, to Captain Man, had to be modified, and he did not appoint the first Superintendent, nor did he make periodical visits of inspection to the Andamans as at first proposed.

On Dr. Mouat's nomination, Dr. James Pattison Walker, who had had much experience as a Jail Superintendent, and bore a high reputation for his excellent management of convicts, was selected to be the first Superintendent of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair.

He left Calcutta in the Hon'ble Company's Steam Frigate *Semiramis* on the 4th March, 1858, with 200 convicts, a native overseer,

two native doctors, and a guard of 50 Naval Brigadesmen under an officer of the Indian Navy, and reached Port Blair on the 10th March.

He found on his arrival that no provision for the convicts existed in Port Blair, and therefore requested the Commander of the Hon'ble Company's Surveying Brig *Mutlah*, which was in the harbour, to receive him on board and render assistance generally, and made a requisition on the Commander of the *Semiramis* for such provisions as he could spare, requesting him at the same time to proceed with all expedition to the Commissioner of Moulmein and procure provisions for the Settlement. The *Semiramis* returned with the provisions on the 20th March, bringing also Captain Man, who had hoisted the British Flag at the Andamans on the 22nd January, 1858, and had then returned to Moulmein to make further arrangements.

Immediately on arrival, the convicts were set to clear Chatham Island, but, as it appeared that the supply of water there was inadequate, three gangs of 25 men each were sent to clear Ross Island at the mouth of the harbour.

Dr. Walker's remarks on the jungle are of interest. He writes:—

"The magnitude of the task of clearing the primeval jungle of the Andaman Islands can only be appreciated by those who have witnessed the nature of the vegetation and the difficulty of effecting a clearance. The jungle is so dense, and its entanglement by gigantic creepers so complete, as to render it impassable, except along the few pathways used by the aborigines. The jungle, so far as is known, is continuous, no open plains having been observed. Even when cut, often trees cannot be got to fall without great force, nor brushwood when cut removed, owing to the intricate binding by creepers of great strength. There is great difficulty even during the present dry weather in getting brushwood that has been several days felled to burn, and the largest heaps are constantly extinguished at night by the very heavy dews that fall, drenching everything exposed."

Dr. Walker worked with great energy and was most sanguine about the future of the Settlement, offering to take almost any number of convicts which the Government of India chose to send. Up to this time, however (6th April, 1858), he had neither experienced the

effect of the rainy season, nor the hostility of the aborigines who were as yet holding aloof and had not begun to give any trouble; nor did he appreciate the amount of trouble (by repeated escapes, etc.) the convicts had already commenced to give, and afterwards gave, showing him that his guard was insufficient for even the small number of convicts he then had (773 by the end of June, 1858).

His following remarks on the convicts and their behaviour will show that immediately after their arrival they commenced to escape, and the tale of their delusions and sufferings is the same as that of their fellow-prisoners up to the present day:—

"Considering all things, I have reason to be satisfied with the general conduct of the convicts. On the fourth day after arrival, convict No. 61, Narain, sentenced on the 31st July last to transportation for life for having excited sedition in the cantonment of Dinapore, where he was camp follower in the bazar, after failing in an attempt to excite the convicts with whom he was working to rebel, attempted to escape from Chatham Island by swimming to the mainland, and nearly succeeded. He was made to alter his course by being fired upon, and was captured by a boat's crew. He was at once brought to trial, convicted of sedition and escaping, sentenced to suffer death, and executed. On the same day, and about the same time, convict 46, Naringun Singh, sentenced at Nuddea to transportation for life, for desertion, committed suicide by hanging himself, without any known cause, at a secluded spot on Ross Island. On the night of the 18th March, 21 convicts escaped on a raft from Ross Island to the main land, in the hope of being able to reach the continent of India by a narrow neck of land supposed to connect the Great Andaman to Burma. On the 23rd of March, eleven convicts escaped from Ross Island. They were seen several miles to the south a few days subsequently, and were unsuccessfully pursued. On the 30th March, one of the convicts who escaped on the 18th idem, delivered himself up to a boat's crew near Chatham Island. He was in a debilitated state from want of food and water, and covered with vermin, that infested even his ears and eyelids, adhering so firmly that he could not remove them. He stated that having along with others been

duped by a fellow prisoner, who pretended to have held communication with one of the aborigines, who promised assistance on the part of a Rajah, they escaped, and after traversing the south of the Great Andaman by the sea shore, during which they underwent great hardships from want of food, and especially fresh water, were attacked by about one hundred savage aborigines, one of whose first arrows inflicted a mortal wound on the convict leader. The returned convict, at the time of escaping into the jungle, heard the fight proceeding for some time, and was under the impression that all his companions were massacred. Guided by the morning and evening guns he directed his course towards Port Blair, which he reached in three days, during which he had not met with water. He observed tracks of the aborigines in his course hitherwards, but carefully avoided them. His account of the privations he suffered has had a good effect upon the other convicts, none of whom have since tried to escape

"The fate of those who escaped on the second occasion is unknown, but there is little chance of their escaping death, either by hunger or by the hands of savage aborigines, whose hostility to all strangers is most unrelenting, and who at present must be considered unamenable to conciliation."

Mrs. Walker joined her husband by the *Dalhousie* on the 15th April, 1858, and Mr. Assistant Surgeon Alexander Gamack, M.D., Mr. Assistant Apothecary J. Ringrow, Mr. Richardson, Overseer, and the Superintendent's Naval Guard of 50 men commanded by Lieutenant Templer, I.N., composed the staff of the Settlement.

With this small number of Europeans, with the heavy rains and the malaria rising from the newly cleared soil, the known dangers from the insufficiently guarded body of very dangerous convicts, and the suspected (and much magnified) dangers from the hostile aborigines, the lives of Dr. Walker and his colleagues could not have been pleasant. Cut off from India, with only uncertain and occasional communications, principally with Moulmein, from whence at first all supplies were obtained, Dr. Walker conceived it necessary to rule the convicts with a severity which was perhaps carried to excess.

It can easily be understood that, immediately after the Mutiny, officers who had served through that awful time of trial could not be expected to treat a body of convicted rebels and mutineers with any undue leniency. Dr. Walker, in sentencing to death all those convicts who attempted to escape, considered that he was acting in the best interests of discipline, but the fear of capital punishment even did not deter the class of convicts he had to deal with from escaping.

They were almost maddened with their horror of the Andamans and the tales of the dreaded savages (for to be sent across the "black water" was then the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on a Native), and they cared nothing for the risk to their lives, if by chance they might succeed in getting back to their own country.

Finding that the desired effect was not obtained, the Government of India shortly afterwards directed that capital punishment was not to be awarded for attempts to escape.

Both from the records, and from the accounts of convicts who were then in Port Blair, I learn that there was at that time much violence and insubordination, a gang of 500 Punjabis giving special trouble, and Dr. Walker was obliged to resort to the sternest measures.

The customs of the Tasmanian discipline were enforced, convicts were handcuffed together in pairs, and these handcuffs were *never* opened. During working hours the worst characters were taken to the sea beach, and, an iron bar being passed through the fetters of a number of them, they were thus fastened to the earth, and made to do what work they could in a sitting posture.

This extreme severity, coupled as it was even with good feeding and care, did not have any beneficial effect, and on the arrival of Captain Haughton on the 3rd October, 1859, to succeed Dr. Walker as Superintendent, the discipline was much relaxed without any bad effects.

Dr. Walker's aim, when establishing the Settlement, seems to have been to keep as good penal discipline as that to which he had been accustomed in the Agra Jail, and he never seems to have realised that, owing to the very different conditions, this was impossible.

He was confronted with two principal difficulties: the numerous escapes of the convicts which his small and insufficient guard was powerless to prevent, and the implacable hostility of the aborigines.

To the convicts, the climate and general appearance of the country must have come as a great shock. They were, to begin with, not ordinary jail-birds, but were desperate men, and Dr. Walker's great severity made them care little whether they died at the hands of the aborigines, or of starvation in the jungle while attempting to escape, or whether they died, as they expected to, in Port Blair. Buoyed up as they were by false tales about the Andaman Islands being part of the mainland of India or Burma, there was just sufficient hope of a successful escape for them to risk what they knew probably awaited them in the jungle. On the 16th June, 1858, only three months after the opening of the Settlement, Dr. Walker's statement of the convicts is:—

Total received	773
Died in hospital	64
Escaped and not recaptured (probably died of starvation, or killed by the savages)	140
Suicide	1
Hanged for attempting to escape	87

Four hundred and eighty-one convicts thus remained in the Settlement, of whom 60 were then in hospital, and this during the dry and healthy season before the commencement of the rains.

Dr. Walker was undoubtedly an energetic and able officer, and many of his suggestions regarding the Settlement have since been carried out, but he wished to move at a far quicker pace than the Government of India had any intention of doing.

At his request, both to prevent escapes and to protect the Settlement from the Andamanese, the Naval Guard was doubled, and a Sebundy Corps of Madrasis was established, which latter, proving a failure, was disbanded.

He was willing to take 10,000 mutineers and rebel convicts during the first year, and to continue to take a similar number for the following five years, and he very wisely recommended that the free

families of the convicts should in some cases be permitted to accompany them, as this would tend to lessen the number of escapes, but the Settlement was not sufficiently advanced at that time for this to be sanctioned.

The Naval Guard, which formed the entire garrison of the Settlement, was drawn from the Naval Brigade which had been raised during the Mutiny, and though containing several ex-men-of-war's men, and others experienced in fighting and accustomed to discipline, was principally composed of seamen from the Merchant Service, who had been hastily drilled and formed into a brigade, and who were, as I have it from eye-witnesses, as a body, lawless, undisciplined, and quite unsuited to such work as the protection of a penal settlement, and still more unfitted to be a Frontier Guard by whose tact, firmness, and good conduct, our first favourable impressions were to be made on the Andamanese, and permanent friendly relations were to be subsequently established. As I shall show from the records, it was not until the superior officers of the Settlement took the direct conduct of Andamanese affairs into their own hands that any favourable impression was made upon these people.

The following extracts from correspondence between Dr. Walker and the Government of India will be found of interest, and show how much our administration of the Settlement was affected by our relations with the aborigines.

In letter No. 743, dated 7th May, 1858, from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, to the Superintendent of Port Blair, Mr. C. Beadon writes :—

"3. It is not probable that more than 10,000 mutineer and rebel convicts will be sent to Port Blair this year, if at all : but enquiry has been made as to the number likely to be so sentenced. With the result of this enquiry you shall be made acquainted as soon as possible, but the information procurable on the latter head must necessarily be vague and uncertain.

"4. The President in Council regrets to find from the documents which accompanied your demi-official letter of the 24th April, that

the story of the convict, who returned alone from among those who escaped on the 11th March, was not sufficient to deter another and a more numerous body from making a similar attempt. There can be little doubt that these misguided men must eventually perish, unless they return to the Settlement; but His Honor in Council approves of your determination not to give fire-arms again to the convicts for the present and not to allow them to work at Phœnix Bay or elsewhere on the main land, until you can send a number large enough to protect themselves against the savages without such weapons.

"5. You have no doubt taken every means in your power to impress upon the convicts the utter hopelessness of these attempts, and to explain to them the impossibility of either leaving the island or of escaping the inevitable fate that awaits them either from hunger or from the hostile attacks of the savages. It is to be hoped that some of those who escaped on the 17th and 22nd of April may find their way back to Port Blair, and that their testimony, confirming, as it undoubtedly will, that of the former return fugitive, will prevent the remainder from being led away by false stories of the possibility of either leaving the island or of forming alliance with the aborigines who appear to be not less hostile to the natives of India than they are to Europeans."

Dr. Walker was also told that his proposal to establish the Head-quarters of the Settlement on Ross Island, instead of Chatham Island, was approved, and that a monthly communication between Calcutta and Port Blair would be kept up.

Mr. Beadon added:—

"15. Captain Man having now returned to Moulmein, it is no longer necessary that he should exercise any authority in the Settlement. This will be intimated to him, and you will henceforth correspond direct with the Government of India, in this Department, and receive your instructions direct from the President in Council. Captain Man will, however, be requested to give you every assistance in procuring whatever supplies you may be in want of from Moulmein."

(It is noteworthy that, so great was the fear of the Andamanese at this time, no attempt was made to explore the creeks running off

the harbour, and supplies of thatching-leaves were actually obtained from Moulmein, though they grew in large numbers by these creeks.)

"19. At present, the guard at the Settlement, in addition to the crews of the schooner *Charlotte*, the *Pluto*, and the *Sesostris*, consists of 50 men of the Indian Navy under a commissioned officer and a midshipman. I am directed to request that you will report whether any addition to the force is necessary, either now or when the number of convicts is considerably increased. The safety of the officers of the establishment and of the public buildings must be placed beyond all risk of injury, either from the convicts or the aborigines of the island.

"The President in Council desires me particularly to caution you against being lulled in to a false sense of security by the absence of any apparent intention or desire on the part of the convicts to defy your authority. The fire-arms of the guard should be always loaded, and it should be impossible for any number of convicts by a rush or otherwise to get them into their own hands for a moment; and the guard should always be ready to act at once on the shortest notice.

"20. Captain Campbell, of the *Sesostris*, had reported the capture of a Malay boat on the coast of the Andamans in the vicinity of Port Blair, with papers from the authorities at Penang, authorising it to proceed to the Andamans for the purpose of collecting birds' nests and sea slugs. The Straits authorities will be desired not to give such papers in future, and to make it known that the resort of Malay boats to these islands is prohibited, and that any found there will be liable to detention and confiscation."

No. 835, dated 26th May, 1858.

From—C. Beadon, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

To—Dr. J. P. Walker, Superintendent of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in the Andamans.

Your demi-official communication of the 1st instant, reporting the escape of large numbers of convicts from the Settlement, etc., was

laid by me before the Hon'ble the President in Council, and I am directed to request that you will have the goodness in future to report officially and in greater detail all occurrences of this kind. In regard to the instances of escape which you mention, it should be explained what the obstacles were which it was anticipated would have prevented the men from escaping, or how they overcame those obstacles, or whether it is possible to prevent others doing the like, and, if so, by what means.

"2. Unless escapes can otherwise be prevented, the convicts should be kept in irons till other means of prevention are available.

"I would earnestly recommend that all the convicts be marked on some conspicuous place such as the breast or arms. Vessels do at present touch at these islands searching for trepang and birds' nests, and these might afford opportunities for the convicts to escape, and once landed on the coast, they would merge in the general population of the country, and be secure from detection."

"3. It has been proposed by Captain Man (an extract from whose demi-official letter, dated the 15th ultimo, is quoted in the margin) to brand all convicts transported to Port Blair. The chances of escape by means of boats touching at the islands, as supposed by Captain Man in this extract, will have to be guarded against by you under the orders of Government contained in paragraph 19 of my letter No. 743, dated the 7th instant, but lest the precautions against the resort of the boats to the islands should be evaded, or other means or escape should present themselves, it may be necessary to have recourse to branding. On this point, I am desired to request that you will give your opinion.

"4. Captain Campbell, the senior officer of the Indian Navy who visited Port Blair in the *Semiramis*, has been consulted as to the best mode of preventing escapes, and especially whether in his opinion any additional naval means are necessary for that purpose.

"5. The President in Council observes from your report that out of 252 convicts on Chatham Island, 75 were sick in hospital. It was to be expected that there would be much sickness during the first year among men from the North-Western Provinces, in a climate where, as you observe, 3 inches of rain fall in a few hours, and where the rainy season lasts from May to November; but the nature of the

disease which has suddenly attacked so many should have been mentioned, and you will be so good as to supply this omission."

In reply to this question about branding, Dr. Walker writes:—

"I concur entirely with Captain Man's suggestion.

"2. I would suggest that the branding be on the front of the right fore-arm, and that the letters $\frac{P.B.}{L.}$ be marked in the case of life, and $\frac{P.B.}{T.}$ in the case of term convicts, and that in every case the convict's register number, which is the key to all information regarding his name, caste, crime, sentence, and personal description, be inserted below the letters, as $\frac{P.B.}{L.}$ $\frac{P.B.}{T.}$ / 1085 897.

"3. The letters might be inserted at the port of shipment, leaving only the register number (which cannot be known elsewhere) to be inserted here."

It was resolved by the Government of India, however, on the 28th August, 1858, that the convicts of the Penal Settlement should not be branded. By July, 1858, the sick-rate had become very high, and during that month 28 inches of rain fell in the Settlement. Dr. Walker's reports show that some of the guard were still living in tents, and that his carpenters were unskilled and worthless, and the materials he had for erecting buildings, inferior and insufficient.

At this time, he began to feel the impossibility of carrying on the work alone, and represented that a Deputy Superintendent was required to relieve the Superintendent when sick.

In October and November, 1858, the Government of India write regarding the escapes of convicts, and the high sick-rate.

20th October, 1858:—

"4. In regard to the number of escapes reported by you, and to the means you have adopted for preventing them in future, His Honor in Council desires me to request that fetters may not be put on the convicts as a general measure, if it be possible to avoid it. Experience has shown that the imposition of fetters does not prevent

men from escaping, if they be inclined to make the attempt; and it will not deter them from committing suicide, if that were the fate of those to whom you refer in this letter.

"5. If fetters be imposed on the general body of the convicts, not only will they, as you observe, be likely to be driven to desperation but the present sickness among them will be increased, and their working power diminished."

On the 6th November, 1858 :—

"Now that huts raised five feet from the ground have been built for the accommodation of 1,000 prisoners on Ross Island, it is hoped that the health of the men will greatly improve.

"The President in Council has read the report of Dr. Gamack, dated the 25th ultimo, with painful interest. It would appear, however, that the severe sickness and mortality among the convicts has been owing chiefly to causes of a temporary nature, unavoidable on the first commencement of the Settlement, and now in a great measure removed.

"Up to the 28th September, there had been 169 deaths in hospital among 1,330 convicts, being at the rate of nearly 24 per cent. per annum.

"The number of sick in hospital on that date was 91, or about 10 per cent. of the whole remaining number."

The question of obtaining thatching leaves to roof the buildings, properly house the convicts, and thus possibly reduce the sick-rate, led to our coming more into contact with the Andamanese.

On the 17th April, 1858, Dr. Walker sent the *Pluto* to Tavoy for thatching leaves and other materials. These were despatched in a Chinese junk, which was towed to sea by the *Pluto* on the 1st May. The junk actually got to within sight of the Andamans when the monsoon changed, and owing to the bad weather she was driven back to Tavoy, where she discharged her cargo, thus causing a dead loss to Government of Rs. 2,500, and much hindering Dr. Walker's work.

The President in Council remarked on this that he trusted it might not again be necessary to send for leaves, etc., to the

Tenasserim coast, but that these should be obtained in the Andamans. He positively prohibited the further employment of steamers for the conveyance of thatching leaves.

Dr. Walker was, therefore, obliged to search in the heads of the creeks for these, and so came into contact with the aborigines living there. A collision appears to have taken place between the officers and men of the surveying brig *Mutlah*, and the Andamanese, on the 5th March, 1858. The quarrel seems to have been commenced by the imprudent conduct of a midshipman, whose promotion was accordingly stopped, and one of the officers of the *Mutlah* was killed by the Andamanese. His watch was subsequently found during another skirmish on the 5th July, 1858. Forty Andamanese huts were destroyed by the men of the *Mutlah* in revenge.

While the Government of India were most anxious to protect the Andamanese from the effects of our occupation of their country, the feelings of the officials in Port Blair were, that they and their ships required protection from the Andamanese; and as Dr. Walker urges elsewhere, with regard to the hostility of the Andamanese, the weaker race certainly required protection or they would be exterminated, but "the weaker race" were the convicts, and not the Andamanese, as the Government of India appeared to think.

Captain Campbell, of the Indian Navy, whose opinion was asked regarding the escapes of convicts, writes on the 19th June, 1858, that:—

"Convicts cannot be prevented from escaping when working on the mainland, but they will only escape into the jungle and cannot get away from the Andamans, as the savages are far too hostile to allow one to escape them."

He thought that the guard of 50 men, the effective strength of which was much reduced by sickness, should be increased, and that a small heavily armed steam vessel should prowl about the coasts in fine weather to warn off merchant vessels, and at the same time protect them from the savages.

On the 19th July, 1858, 30 additional men arrived for the Naval Guard, but another Indian Navy officer was badly wanted. A midshipman had been temporarily given, but Dr. Walker wrote, with a

feeling that would have delighted Captain Marryat," I am of opinion that the efficiency of the Naval Guard will be better secured by an increase of Warrant Officers, than by the addition of midshipmen."

This argument was admitted by the Government of India, who, on the 11th August, 1858, sent two Masters to replace two midshipmen.

The following extracts from important documents will show the views of the Government of India regarding escapes, and the policy to be observed towards the Andamanese, and Dr. Walker's reply to the same.

Extracts from letter No. 1079, dated 12th July, 1858, from Cecil Beadon, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, to Dr. J. P. Walker, Superintendent of Port Blair :—

"3. His Honor in Council is gratified to learn that the conduct of the convicts since your last report had been satisfactory, and that no further attempts to escape had been made.

"5. The execution of the prisoner Narain, who, after failing to excite the other convicts of his gang to rebel, attempted to escape by swimming to the main island, and was caught in the act of escaping, was approved by the Government of India, as likely to deter others from following his example; but you will have gathered from paragraphs 4 and 5 of my letter of the 7th May, in which that approval was conveyed, that it did not enter into the contemplation of the Government that any large number who made their escape from the Settlement would in case of return be subjected to the same punishment. On the contrary, it was said that these misguided men must perish *unless* they returned to the Settlement, and a hope was expressed that some of them would find their way back, and that their testimony would prevent the remainder from being led away by false stories.

"6. It appears that notwithstanding the greatest care taken to impress upon the convicts the hopelessness of living in the jungle, and notwithstanding the means adopted to prevent escape, one-third of the whole number of convicts got away within fifty-one days after

the arrival of the first set. It is said that in the months of March and April 288 escaped—of those, at least 86 have been executed, 1 has been pardoned, 1 was in hospital untried, and 140 remained uncaptured, of whom it is improbable that any remain alive, half the number being known to have perished. In every case of recapture the runaway convicts returned and delivered themselves up, finding it impossible to withstand the savages or exist in the jungle.

"I am directed to forward a copy of a communication from Captain Campbell, No. 255, dated the 19th June, and to inform that he has been directed to double the guard. With this additional force, and with the *Charlotte* stationed between Ross Island and the mainland, it is hoped that any further attempts on the part of the convicts to leave the Settlement will be provided against, and that there will be complete security under careful management against any surprise. You will no doubt take the precaution of removing all boats from the shore at night fall, and making them fast to the vessels at anchor in the harbour.

"13. In the 16th paragraph of your letter you observe that the 'hostility of the aborigines to the settlers is unabated, and there seems 'not the slightest chance of being able to effect anything with them by 'a conciliating policy.' On this point, the Hon'ble Court have expressed a desire that measures should be taken to prevent the inhabitants of the island from suffering injury from the presence of the convicts. I am therefore directed to request that you will adhere strictly to the conciliating line of conduct which has hitherto been observed towards the aborigines, that you will absolutely prohibit any aggression upon them, and that force may on no account be resorted to, unless it be absolutely necessary, to repel their attacks.

"14. The President in Council regrets very much to hear that a collision ensued between the savages and a watering party of the Naval Guard, in consequence of the latter having been permitted to land unarmed, contrary to express order."

Dr. Walker replied, in letter No. 241 of 7th August, 1858, to the Government of India in the Home Department:—

"As my establishment of disciplinary officers consisted of only one

European and one Native Overseer, the former residing at night on board ship and the latter on Chatham Island, it was impossible that they could have exercised any influence in preventing escapes.

"3. The convicts on Chatham Island, Ross Island, and at Phœnix Bay were employed in clearing jungle, and the escapes were effected at night. Those from Ross Island crossed to the mainland on rafts. The Phœnix Bay convicts had only to enter the jungle they were clearing. Those from Chatham Island were assisted by the Phœnix Bay convicts, who sent a raft for them from the mainland.

"4. The convicts were not guarded. To have divided the Naval Guard, mere tyros in the use of fire-arms, into three detachments, for night duty on shore at each of the localities, would have exposed them to the risk of being massacred by mutineer convicts who had been accustomed to the use of fire-arms for many years. But the Naval Guard could not then, nor even now, reside on shore without serious injury to their health. Captain Campbell, I.N., whom I consulted, was opposed to their residing on shore during the day, and when I tried the experiment, the failing state of their health required that they should not remain longer on shore than was necessary as my personal guard; and even to that extent the length of time I was necessarily engaged on shore, now here, now there, was considered along with the pulling work, too severe, and a letter by Captain Campbell, endorsed by Captain Man then in charge at Port Blair, reached me suggesting the avoidance of too long exposure to the sun and night air at this critical season.

"5. But had the Naval Guard been on shore at Phœnix Bay, they could not have prevented escapes occurring, for when convicts are employed on the mainland in clearing jungle, no amount of guarding can prevent them from escaping, if so inclined, into the interior, as they must necessarily be more or less concealed in advance of their guard.

"6. The insular position of Chatham and Ross Islands admits of their being guarded by boats or vessels placed between them and the mainland, and that arrangement was adopted as soon as boats and

vessels were available. My letter No. 74, dated 7th May, represented that no boats either for the use of the Settlement generally, or for the Naval Guard in particular, had been assigned, and I submitted copies of my urgent letters of requisition, Nos. 45 and 47, to the Commanders of the Hon'ble Company's steamers *Pluto* and *Semiramis*, by which two boats were obtained, subsequently to the escapes. My letter No. 76, dated 19th June, reported the immediate employment of the Hon'ble Company's schooner *Charlotte*, on her arrival here on the 24th May, in guarding Ross Island. On the night following the receipt of the second boat she was manned by a night guard and placed between Chatham Island and the mainland.

"7. The obstacles which then (as now) were anticipated would have prevented the convicts from escaping, are the impossibility of subsisting on the mainland independently of the Settlement, the hostility of the savage aborigines, and the hopelessness of escaping to the continent of India. These were not then considered by the convicts to be insuperable difficulties, and they escaped from their working localities to the mainland, and were they now to become impressed with the belief that these ends are attainable, I apprehend that the insularity of Chatham Island and Ross Island the only natural obstacles to escapes, would not hinder them from making the attempt to adopt some means for eluding the vigilance of guards when the weather, tide, and darkness of the night favour their project.

"8. With regard to the means which have since been taken to prevent escapes, the Hon'ble Company's ship *Sesostris* is anchored between Ross Island and the mainland, as far into the channel as is considered safe, and as will admit her communicating by signals with the Hon'ble Company's schooner *Charlotte* anchored as far into the channel between Chatham Island and the mainland as is considered safe. When the weather permits, both of the positions are strengthened at night by detachments of the Naval Guard in the settlement boats, the latter arrangement, however, being maintained at the loss of health of the guard, seventeen of whom were at one time sick in hospital, chiefly from the effect of night exposure, as reported by the officer in medical charge. There is no doubt that the duty required from

the Naval Guard is very trying. A petty officer attached for ten months to a land battery in the Crimea describes the service here as more severe than there.

"9. The measures in force have been so successful that no escapes occurred between the 24th April and the 24th July, when four convicts either effected their escape from Ross Island at night or committed suicide by drowning. The night being clear and windy, it was not deemed necessary to despatch a guard boat in advance of the *Sesostris* as usual. No one here believes that the men, who were weakly, would have crossed to the mainland. Since then, no escape has occurred."

Dr. Walker pushed on the Settlement with great energy. Bamboos and thatching leaves having been found in the jungle were cut and brought in by the convicts, who, with them, made huts for themselves, and by September, 1858 (thinking that to be the end of the rainy season, instead of what it really was, the change of the monsoon), Dr. Walker began to sink wells at the upper end of the harbour, and arrange to occupy the mainland there. His idea was, on the arrival of the Sebundy Guard from Madras, to send a division of 421 convicts to the neck of land between Port Blair and Port Mouat; these men were to settle in sixteen villages on the Port Blair side of the neck, and a similar division was to settle in sixteen villages on the Port Mouat side. Each village was to be 660 feet broad, the Port Blair villages extending west towards Port Mouat, and the Port Mouat villages extending east towards Port Blair. He considered that intermediate villages might also be necessary to strengthen the whole as a frontier against the savages, and advocated having 1,684 convicts cultivating 64 villages. He also wished to encourage these convicts to get their wives and families down from India.

Towards the close of the year, the number of escapes considerably diminished; occasionally an escaped convict returned, but generally all who went into the jungle were killed by the aborigines.

Dr. Walker's proposals for the protection of the aborigines, which were submitted under the following circumstances, are here given.

A skirmish took place between a party of the Naval Brigade and the Andamanese, between North and Perseverance Points, on the 5th August, 1858, the details of which were as follows:—

A signal was made from the schooner *Charlotte* on that day that natives were in sight on the north side of the bay, and Lieutenant Templer, I.N., accompanied by Mr. Rowe, Chief Officer of the *Sesostris*, proceeded with one petty officer and eight men to reconnoitre and watch their movements. This was done by order of Dr. Walker, who writes of the affair:—

"On rounding Perseverance Point, one man was seen in a canoe close under the mangrove bushes, who was evidently trying to get away. Chase was given, and as the party approached, two more canoes were seen hauled up on the shore. On nearing the first one, the party was received with a shower of arrows, and, as it is added in the report of the skirmish that a native on the shore was shot, it is to be inferred that the shower of arrows came from the shore, and that it was returned with bullets from the boat.

"Lieutenant Templer then, leaving four men in the boat under Mr. Rowe, landed with five men, and after some firing seized the canoe that was there and then rushed through the village and seized the other two canoes on the other side of the mangroves.

"The party then, after destroying some of the huts which were too green to burn, returned with three canoes and the body of the native who was killed, the other natives howling most piteously after them. Not one of the party was touched, but Lieutenant Templer thinks that several of the natives were wounded, as five or six were seen to drop. Lieutenant Templer, in his report, expressed his intention of destroying the village with my permission, and this was accordingly done. In one of the canoes there was found part of a watch supposed to belong to one of the officers of the *Mutlah* who was murdered by the savages on the 5th March, 1858."

The Government of India, in commenting upon this occurrence, state in a letter to Dr. Walker:—

"You have already been made aware of the wishes of the Court of Directors in regard to the policy to be observed towards the natives

of the Andamans, and in paragraph 13 of my letter No. 1079, dated 12th ultimo, you were requested to 'adhere strictly to the conciliating line of conduct which has hitherto been observed towards the aborigines', to 'absolutely prohibit any aggression upon them' and not to allow force on any account to be resorted to 'unless it be absolutely necessary to repel their attacks.'

"8. These instructions are of date subsequent to the occurrence now reported, but Lieutenant Templer's proceedings appear to the President in Council to afford very proper opportunity for emphatically repeating them for your guidance, and for that of all the officers and men employed at the Settlement.

"9. On this occasion, as it appears from the papers, our people were the assailants. Though the disposition of the natives at large is known to be hostile, there is no ground assigned for supposing that they appeared on the north side of the port and established a village there with any special intention of giving annoyance. The attack, therefore, was unprovoked and without justification. The native who was seen in a canoe very naturally tried to get away when he saw the armed boat approaching, but there was no reason for immediately giving chase and pursuing the man to within the reach of the arrows of his own countrymen.

"10. The subsequent capture of the canoes and partial destruction of the village appear to have been ordered as act of retaliation for the attack of the natives on the boat; but this attack was provoked by Lieutenant Templer's pursuit of the man in the canoe, and the complete destruction of the village on a subsequent day was an unnecessary and deliberate act of revenge not calculated, any more than the original pursuit of the canoe, to induce the natives to abandon their hostility towards us.

"11. The President in Council fully appreciates the difficulties of your position. But the aborigines of the Andamans are apparently unable to conceive the possibility of the two races co-existing on the islands, except on terms of internecine hostility. This idea is assuredly strengthened by every attack we make upon them, and can only be driven out of their minds by a course of persistent conciliation and

forbearance on our part. The President in Council would have been disposed to encourage the settlement of a village of these savages on the north side of the bay, where they could not at present interfere with the progress of the Settlement or give us any annoyance, and where they might gradually become familiar with our appearance and divest themselves of the fear which is obviously the moving cause of their present aversion. Every effort must be made to teach them that we desire to cultivate friendly relations, and have no intention of attacking them or doing them any injury, unless they compel us to act in self-defence."

Dr. Walker then submitted the following proposals for the protection of the aborigines:—

Letter No. 304 to Home Department, 4th September, 1858.

"Paragraph 3.—The precautions I propose to take for the protection of the aborigines from collision with the convicts are to select a suitable portion of the Great Andaman Island, of sufficient area for cultivation for many years by several thousand convict settlers, and which, from the natural formation of the land, is susceptible of isolation by a military cordon, then to expel the aborigines out of the Settlement land and keep them out by the military guard, unless they manifest a desire to cultivate friendly relations, which will be encouraged by all means which experience may indicate as likely to be successful.

"4. I have selected about fifty square miles of the southernmost part of the Great Andaman for the convict settlement, bounded on the east by the ocean, on the south by McPherson's Straits, on the west by the Labyrinth, on the north by Port Mouat and Port Blair with the intermediate neck of land about two miles in breadth. It is on this neck of land that I propose to construct entrenchments, fortlets, or stockades, and establish a military cordon with the local corps of Madrasis, now being raised for the Settlement service for the protection of the convicts against the murderous attacks of the aborigines, and thus avoid the necessity, which otherwise would exist, of placing arms in the hands of convict sepoys for the purposes of self-

defence, a step which the Hon'ble Court truly observes 'it was obviously expedient to avoid.'

"5. The expulsion of the aboriginal savages from the Settlement lands, it is supposed, will be effected by their gradual retirement as the occupation of the land by the convict settlers proceeds. Should they, however, continue their murderous assaults upon the unarmed convicts, it will be necessary to expel them with as little force as possible to prevent 'those collisions with the convicts which it is only too probable will be provoked on both sides,' and which, as the Hon'ble Court remarks, 'once commenced are so likely to end in the extermination of the weaker race.' As far as I can judge, the unarmed convicts are the weaker race, and unless they be well protected, they will be exterminated by the savages. I think it probable that even the detachments of the military guard will occasionally be attacked by the savages and massacred, unless constantly on the alert, and well prepared to defend themselves."

The Government of India in the Home Department (letter No. 1823, of the 3rd December, 1858), in acknowledging letter No. 304 of the 4th September from Dr. Walker regarding measures to be taken to prevent collisions between Andamanese and convicts, state, after quoting the details of the proposed plan:—

"Paragraph 3. For this purpose you have selected the southernmost part of the Great Andaman, bounded on the north by Port Blair and Port Mouat, and the intermediate neck of land about two miles in breadth. On this neck you propose to construct entrenchments, fortlets, or stockades, and establish a military cordon with the local corps of Madrasis now being raised for service in the Andamans, with a view to protect the convicts from the attacks of the aborigines and to avoid the necessity for arming the convicts in self-defence.

"4. It might perhaps be beneficial to the Settlement in a sanitary point of view to cut a broad vista through the jungle from Port Blair to Port Mouat, and it might have the effect of inducing the savages to keep to the north of the line thus laid down; but if any attempt be made to drive them by force out of the southern part of the island, the orders of the Hon'ble Court and of this Government,

which restrict the use of force against the aborigines, except for the purposes of self-defence, will be contravened.

"5. Moreover, it appears to the President in Council that the plan you have formed is based on an expectation that the number of rebel and mutineer convicts at the Settlement will be indefinitely increased, and may amount to several thousands—an expectation which, now that an amnesty has been proclaimed, and the rebels are beginning to surrender on promise of pardon, is not at all likely to be realised. There has been found great difficulty also in inducing men to enlist for the service, and though higher terms have been offered, some time must elapse before the company of Sebundis can be raised and placed at your disposal. Even then, as it appears to the President in Council, the Sebundis will be required for the ordinary duties of the Settlement, in addition to the European guard, and can hardly be spared for the purpose of guarding such a line as you propose at a distance from headquarters.

"6. Taking these circumstances into consideration, it appears to the President in Council that it would be on the whole a more prudent measure, after occupying the islands in Port Blair, to clear the mainland gradually and uniformly from the south shore of the bay, establishing advanced posts near the edge of the jungle, and leaving only cultivation and the dwellings of the colonists in the rear. In this way the operations of all the convicts would be carried on under your own immediate view and almost within call of Ross Island, where you have established the headquarters of the Settlement. It is not likely that the savages would venture out of the jungle to attack the convicts in the cleared country or in their villages, but should they do so, they would be easily repulsed, and there would then be no reason for abstaining from the use of such force as might be necessary for the purpose."

The remarks of the Government of India are sufficient comments on Dr. Walker's scheme, which, as it never came into operation, need not be further dealt with, and is only quoted in order to show the line of policy which the Settlement authorities considered should be

adopted towards the Andamanese, and the bent of their minds where Andamanese were concerned.

On the 8th October, 1858, Viper Island was occupied by four sections of convicts, and a guard of the Naval Brigade, who lived on shore during the day and passed the night in a boat. The *Charlotte* anchored off Viper as a guardship.

By this time the convicts had begun to distrust each other, and owing to informers among them, several attempts to escape were frustrated. Having Viper Island as a headquarter station, two attempts were made to cross the South Andaman Island from Port Blair to Port Mouat, but without success, as the track cut was taken too far to the northward. The Andamanese collected at night round the encampment of the party in large numbers, but there was no collision.

Dr. Walker had some hope, which was subsequently realised, of trying to make friends with the Andamanese near Viper Island. By the close of the year they were believed to have killed 170 runaway convicts.

In March 1859, a runaway convict returned from the jungle and informed Dr. Walker that he had been taken prisoner by the aborigines and had remained with them for two or three days, during which time he was well treated and witnessed their mode of life. He said that they subsisted upon cooked food obtained by hunting and fishing, that they obtained their supply of fresh water from a river (which was untrue), that they cooked everything they eat, and, so far as he could judge, showed no signs of being cannibals.

The general hostility of the Andamanese towards the settlers was as great as ever, and working parties were continually being attacked by them.

In March 1859, the Naval Guard were attacked at Watering Cove, but no harm was done.

On the 6th April, 248 convicts of the first division, employed in digging wells, constructing huts, and clearing the jungle at Haddo, on the mainland opposite Chatham Island, were attacked by about 200 of the aborigines who were armed with bows and arrows. Three

convicts were killed on the spot, and one was so severely wounded that he died in hospital the next day. Five convicts were more or less severely wounded with arrows. The savages carried off a considerable number of the convicts' working tools, clothes, and cooking vessels. The convicts were quite unable to cope with their opponents, and were obliged to save themselves by taking to the sea. The Naval Guard arrived too late to be of any use. Dr. Walker did not like to trust a small body of Europeans among so many convicts, and hoped by having a large file of convicts that they would, by their numbers, be able to resist the savages.

On the 14th April, at about noon, when the convicts of the two divisions were employed in cooking, they were suddenly attacked by a very large number of aborigines, estimated at about 1,500, armed with small axes and knives, in addition to bows and arrows. The convicts attempted to resist, but were quite unequal to the work, and after having three killed on the spot, and six severely wounded, they were obliged to retire into the sea under the protecting fire of the Naval Guard boat moored off the landing place, while the savages remained in possession of the encampment, and carried off the working tools, clothing, and cooking vessels of the two divisions. Out of the 446 convicts present, 12 had fetters on, and these the savages selected, and having removed their fetters, carried them off into the jungle, and they have not been seen since.

The convicts described the savages as showing no disposition to attack any one with a mark of imprisonment (such as the iron ring round the ankle), unless opposed, but as anxious to attack and murder the section gangsmen, the sub-division gangsmen, and the division gangsmen, who do not wear the ring, and are marked by wearing a red turban, badge, and coloured belt. They called upon the convicts to stand aside and let them go into the water and attack the Naval Guard in the boat. During the two hours they had possession of the encampment they beckoned to the convicts to come and dance with them, and they, from fear, complied. Ludicrous groups of savages with a convict on each side, with arms entwined, were engaged in stamping motions which appeared intended for dancing.

Dr. Walker proceeded with Lieutenant Hellard to the spot, and finding that the convicts demanded either to be protected, or to be afforded the means of protecting themselves, had Division No. 1 sent to Aberdeen, and Division No. 4 to Viper Island.

(With regard to the above, the Andamanese have told me that what they objected to was that the convicts destroyed their jungle by clearing, etc; they saw that the labouring convicts did not want to work, and that the gangsmen made them, so they attacked all the people who were in authority. Eventually the gangsmen begged to have their distinguishing marks taken off, and to be allowed to have an axe or other tool in their hands, in order that the Andamanese might not single them out.)

During the first half of April, the Andamanese showed themselves at Aberdeen in small numbers (from 8 to 20) four times. On the convicts turning out to attack them, they disappeared.

On the 28th April, a party from Her Majesty's ship *Charlotte* (schooner) landed at North Point, and without provocation were attacked by the aborigines, and one of the European seamen received a wound from an iron-headed arrow, the point of which snapped off in the wound. Dr. Walker then forbade any one to land on the mainland on pleasure excursions.

On the 14th May, 1859, the aborigines attacked Aberdeen and Atalanta Point. Owing to timely warning from two escaped convicts who had been travelling with the aborigines, the attack was provided for and the plunder of the tools on a large scale prevented. The Naval Guard was landed at Aberdeen; the *Charlotte* anchored between Ross and Atalanta Point; Lieutenant Warden, I.N., landed a party of naval men, and marching to the top of Aberdeen hill put the convicts in his rear for protection; while the *Charlotte's* men stopped the aborigines who were coming along the shore. Lieutenant Warden was attacked from the jungle, and, owing to the numbers of the savages, retreated into the boats, from whence he protected the convicts who had gathered on the pier, and in the water, by firing over their heads. The *Charlotte's* guns too opened fire on the savages, who held possession of the convict station for over half an hour, plundering everything

worth carrying off. Lieutenant Hellard I.N., with a party of Naval Brigade men, Dr. Walker's crew, and a number of convicts, rushed up the hill and drove off the aborigines. None of the convicts were wounded, but several of the savages are supposed to have been.

A few days afterwards another attack was threatened, but though the Andamanese entered the place where the convicts were clearing the jungle, they did not follow them when they retreated to the station.

The above-mentioned fight, which was afterwards known in the Settlement as "The Battle of Aberdeen," was the most serious collision with the Andamanese which occurred at all. Had not Dr. Walker received notice regarding it from Life Convict Dudhnáth Tewári, No. 276, who had escaped almost immediately after his arrival, on the 23rd April, 1858, and had lived with the Andamanese ever since, had learnt their language, and had become cognizant of the arrangements for the fight which had been arranged in detail for some time previously, very serious damage might have been caused.

Dudhnáth has often been abused since for his exaggerated and untruthful statements regarding the Andamanese, but he certainly did good service to the Government at this time, and fully earned the pardon which was subsequently granted to him on this account by the Government of India. He made some lengthened statement to Dr. Walker, which was forwarded to the Government of India, but of which I have been unable to obtain a copy. In *Chambers' Journal* for March, 1860, a selection from this statement is published with comments, and an abridgment of the article in the *Journal* is herewith given. Judging from it, I should say that Dudhnáth was not nearly such a liar as he is supposed to have been. His is the first at all accurate idea which we obtained of the Andamanese and their customs in the present century.

Dudhnáth Tewári, a Sepoy of the 14th Regiment of Native Infantry, having been convicted of mutiny and desertion, was sentenced by the Commission at Jhelum to transportation for life and labour in irons. He was received at the Penal Settlement at Port

Blair, per ship *Roman Emperor* from Kurrachee, on the 6th April 1858, and was given the number 276. He escaped from Ross Island, Port Blair, on the 23rd April, 1858, and after a residence of one year and twenty-four days in the Andaman jungle with the aborigines, voluntarily returned to the convict station at Aberdeen, on the south side of Port Blair, on the 17th May, 1859.

He escaped, with ninety other convicts, upon rafts made from felled trees bound together with tent ropes, Aga, a convict gangsman of limited geographical knowledge, having assured them that the opposite shore was within ten days march of the capital of Burmah, under the Rajah of which place it was his intention to take service.

On reaching the mainland of the Andamans, and penetrating the jungle a little, they were joined, two days after their escape, by a further large body of convicts who had escaped at the same time they had from Phœnix Bay and Chatham Island. Aga appears to have been in command of the entire body of runaways who numbered 130.

For fourteen days this party progressed with exceeding slowness through the jungle, not knowing even in what direction they moved, and sometimes their wanderings led them back to a place which they had passed days before. All the food and necessaries secretly prepared for this expedition had been lost at the beginning, during the crossing by the men of the channel between Ross Island and the mainland. For eight days they had almost nothing to eat, afterwards those who could climb the tall branchless trees got a little of some pleasant fruit like the Indian *ber*. Water was very scarce, and only found in the form of small springs oozing through the sides of the hills. A few men had saved their axes, and with these the stems of a huge creeping cane were cut and so some water obtained. Twelve of the party through hunger and thirst were left during this period to die.

For the first thirteen days they never came upon any of the aborigines, although they found their deserted huts, but on the fourteenth day, at noon, about four miles in the interior, they were surrounded by about 100 savages armed with bows and arrows. The

convicts offered no resistance and only supplicated for mercy by signs and attitudes which were disregarded. An indiscriminate slaughter of them by the savages took place, and there were a great number of killed and wounded when Dudhnáth Tewâri took to flight in the dense jungle, with three had arrow wounds, on the eyebrow, the right shoulder, and the left elbow.

Shoo Dull, another (Brahmin) convict, who was wounded in the back, fled with him, and together they got along a salt water tidal creek to the sea shore, where, an hour afterwards, they were joined by a convict of the Kurmi caste.

They passed the night in that spot, and in the morning were seen by a party of aborigines (a tribe of some sixty men, women, and children), who were embarking in five canoes. They fled into the jungle and were pursued by the savages, who, firing, killed Tewâri's two companions and wounded him. He feigned death, and was pulled out of his hiding place by the leg; but on making supplication to them by joining his hands, they withdrew a short distance and fired at him wounding him in the left wrist, and in the hip. He again pretended to be dead, and on their taking the arrow from his hip, again besought them to spare him, which, this time, they did. They helped him into a boat, and put red earth moistened with water round his neck and nostrils, and a lighter coloured earth over his body and wounds, and took him to a neighbouring Island. (This Island is named Termugli, and is one of the Labyrinth Islands south of the outer harbour of Port Mouat, being identified by Tewâri, who had hitherto thought that it was part of the mainland of Burmah. The tribe who captured him was the Termugu-da Sept of the Áka-*Béa*-da Tribe, and was an Ár-*yauto* Sept—*M. V. P.*)

During the entire year he was away Tewâri was always wandering about with this tribe from island to island, or on the mainland, never staying long in any one place. While he was with them, he wore no clothes whatever, shaved his head, and in all respects conformed to their customs, enjoying throughout the best of health, but for his wounds.

Most of these healed in about a month, except the elbow wound

which remained sore for three months. The aborigines never exacted service from him, but for a long time looked upon him with great suspicion, and to the last never permitted him, even in sport, to take up a bow and arrow; they always told him to sit down and be quiet if he attempted it. When he had been away for some four months, Pooteah, one of the elder natives, made over to him as wives his daughter Leepa (aged twenty), and a young woman of sixteen called Jigah, the daughter of Heera. Before young ladies marry, they are considered to be common property among both married and single Andamen, but when they have husbands they henceforth behave themselves with the greatest propriety; even widows are never known to smile upon the male sex again. (!)

Tewari supposes that he saw about one quarter of the Great Andaman Island during his wanderings, and certainly as many as 15,000 natives in all. They generally live in the jungle bordering upon the sea coast, for convenience of procuring fish, shell-fish, and fresh water, though some inhabit the banks of salt water creeks in the interior.

All penetrate the jungle for pigs and fruits, but usually return to the coast at sunset. The whole population is migratory, moving in troops of from thirty to three hundred individuals, but all are one tribe and use the same language and customs. The deaths were not so numerous as the births, from which circumstance it may be supposed that the population is increasing. The aborigines are not cannibals, nor do they eat uncooked animal food, but they have no idea of a Supreme Being, and go about entirely naked, their coats being only of paint. The trousseau of the Andaman brides is very inexpensive, and the marriage ceremony the reverse of ceremonious. No preliminary arrangements of any kind are made. If any one of the seniors think that a young man and a young woman should be united, he sends for them and marries them himself; the consent of either party is never asked, nor does the wedding company—except when there are two wives—ever extend beyond these three.

Dudhnáth Tewári beheld five marriages and they were all alike.

Towards evening the bride, having painted her body in stripes

with her fingers smeared with red earth moistened with turtle oil, sits on leaves spread on the ground by way of carpet or bed, while the bridegroom similarly painted squats on *his* carpet of leaves a few paces off. They thus sit silent for an hour, when the person who united them comes from his hut, takes the bridegroom by the hand and leads him to the bride's carpet, and having seated him on it, without speaking, presents him with five or six iron headed arrows, and then returns to his hut leaving the newly married couple alone, who remain sitting on the carpet for several hours longer, in perfect silence, until it be quite dark, when they retire to their private residence.

In Tewári's case there was not even the ceremony of the arrows, but, without a word being said upon the subject, he was seated by Pooteah, one fine evening, between Leepa and Heera, to whom the chief pointed with his hand, and addressing the young man observed "Jirie Jog"! and left the spot immediately. They were not even painted (complains Tewári), nor was the least fuss made about them.

Tewári gives the following outline of the daily life of the Andamanese.

The women remain in the encampment cooking and making fishing nets, while the men hunt pigs in the jungle; the former have often to go several miles for fresh water, which they carry in large bamboos two at a time from six to nine feet long, and weighing about 80 to 100 lbs.; all the interior partitions of the bamboo, save the last, having been destroyed by the introduction of a smaller stick. They also catch shell-fish, and the fish that the receding tide leaves in the pools, with their hand nets. The aborigines do not allow a particle of hair to remain on them, and the females, acting as barbers, shave them cleanly and quickly with a small chip of bottle glass (the spoil probably from some shipwreck, or lucky raid upon the Settlement) of the size of a bean, but as thin as the blade of a penknife; the piece of glass is struck sharply on the edge with a hard stone to chip it thus finely.

Red earth mixed with turtle oil seems to be the Andamanese panacea for all diseases. The whole body of both sexes is tattooed,

except the head, neck, hands, feet, and the lower part of the abdomen, by being incised with small pieces of bottle glass; the operation is performed by the women, on children of eight or ten, during January, February, March, or April. These months are selected because they form the wild fruit season, wherein there is no necessity for the children to go into the salt water after fish, which would render the tattoo wounds painful. The operation is done by degrees and takes two or three years to complete. White earth (like lime) is smeared over the wounds, which heal in three to four weeks. No colouring matter being inserted, the effect is to make them of a paler hue than the surrounding skin.

The women rub the men with earth and water in the evening to keep off the mosquitos, but do not pay so much attention to their comforts generally, says Tewári, as Bengali wives. They carry their children in slings made from the inner bark of trees, and behind their backs. They cut green leaves for bedding, and palm leaves for thatching the huts, with the sharp shell called Uta, with which also they sharpen their arrows. They occupy old huts, if they can; nor need we wonder, since four days is a long residence for these gentry in any spot, and but building is hard work for the ladies.

Dudhnáth Tewári, judging by his own height, which is five feet nine and a half inches, conjectures the native males to be about five feet five inches, and the females five feet two inches, in height; nor did he ever meet with any so tall as himself. The men and women are so alike in feature that from the face alone their sex cannot be determined; but they are both what would be considered in Hindustan (says Tewári) exceedingly ugly. So healthy and strong are the females, that the day after child-birth they are able to accompany the troop on foot as usual. The new-born babe is drenched in cold fresh water, and its wet body dried by the hand heated over a fire, quickly and gently. Any woman who is suckling takes the new born child for a day or two and feeds it. The child remains without any covering whatever like the parents, unless it rains, when a few leaves are sewn, with rattan for thread, and placed around it.

The reason of Tewári's leaving Andaman society was that he

might give information of an intended attack by the savages upon the convict station at Aberdeen. He did so—travelling with the attacking party along the sea coast—and set Dr. Walker on his guard, but just in time.

His wife Leepa was left in an interesting condition.

Remarks.—There is much in the above statement which is correct, and it appears to me to be the account of his adventures by an ignorant man, who related correctly what he remembered, exaggerated greatly when asked regarding matters to which he had paid no particular attention, and only invented when feeling obliged by continual questioning to give some answer about matters of which he knew nothing.

As regards his marriage,—

He was certainly married to Lipāia, but Jidga was a girl about twelve, who was not considered to be his wife. The Andamanese have been asked regarding his statement, and they corroborate much of what he says. Pooteah told him that the young woman Lipāia was a "Jádi Jóg" or "Spinster," and gave him a broad hint at the same time that he was welcome to her as a wife, but no attempt was made to marry the couple after the Andamanese fashion, the whole of which is wrongly related. The Andamanese never have two wives at the same time, and Dudhnáth wrongly describes a part of the ceremony, mistaking the part for the whole.

He only wandered over a portion of the South Andaman, meeting with different Septs of the same Tribe, and his remarks as to their numbers, as well as to their height, are great exaggerations. He was acquainted with the existence of Éremtága tribes, and speaks correctly of them, though evidently having little knowledge of their ways, yet in this matter he was in advance of his time, as the existence of these tribes was not generally recognised till about 1879.

The reasons he gives for the different actions of the Andamanese are often incorrect, but his observations on their habits are fairly accurate.

On the whole, I see no just ground for the unsparing abuse which

has been heaped on this man by other writers ; many of his statements are inaccurate in details, but the statements of those who vilify him are the same.

The attacks by the Andamanese, particularly when of such magnitude as "the Battle of Aberdeen," and showing such implacable hostility and power of organisation against the Settlement on a large scale, became a serious feature in the administration, and had to be reckoned for in all arrangements made.

On the evening of the 27th June, 1859, convict Boorhana, No. 2622, who escaped with three others on the 23rd of March, returned and stated that one of his companions was killed by the aborigines, and the two others were then living with the savages on Rutland Island and refused to return. This convict further stated that his reason for returning was to give notice that the aborigines on Rutland Island intended to attack Ross Island, and had collected 1,000 armed men, and constructed 500 canoes. Dr. Walker questioned the man's veracity, but the convict added that 500 canoes are now ready, in addition to about 100 used for fishing, and their construction is proceeding at the rate of 12 to 16 per diem. He said that the attack might be expected within a few days.

As it would be dangerous to send a sailing vessel on the Western coast during the south-west monsoon, Dr. Walker was unable to test the truth of the man's statement. All precautions were taken, and preparations to resist the attack made. Dr. Walker noted that, if the Settlement is liable to attacks by water, it would be necessary to supply him with a small steamer.

It is easy for us now to see that the above report was false. Dudhnáth had a short time before been locally pardoned for escaping, and further recommended for absolute release, because he came in, and by a timely and true warning saved the Settlement from an unexpected and dangerous attack; and this man, who had probably been lurking in the vicinity of the Settlement and picking up news from his friends, hoped to do the same. It would naturally alarm Dr. Walker, who could not be expected to know how false the statement was.

The following statement by the same convict is probably equally false. He said that, about six weeks before, a Turkish ship's boat, painted red outside and green inside, and having a crescent painted on one bow, with 21 Hindustani and two Cabuli shipwrecked pilgrims on board, was picked up, while drifting out at sea off the west coast of Rutland Island, by the aborigines on the west coast, in the south-west monsoon. The savages treated the men kindly in their distressed condition, and continued to do so up to the time the convict left.

The convict stated that the pilgrims had left "Abooshuhm" in a Turkish vessel bound for some port *en route* to Mecca, and after sailing for about two months, the vessel was caught in a severe storm which lasted two days, during which she struck upon a rock and capsized.

It is supposed that out of some hundreds, mostly pilgrims, on board, all perished except the 23 who were with the Andamanese on Rutland Island. These were only saved by catching hold of the vessel's boat which had got adrift. After a voyage of 18 days without food, but with plenty of rain water to drink, they drifted to the west coast of Rutland Island. For the first four days they pulled eight oars, without knowing where they were going, they then sighted high land, but their strength failing they drifted. The convict only remembered three of the pilgrims' names.

1. Meeah Allah Yar, Moulvi of Delhi. A very corpulent person, 30 years of age, with the cicatrix of a wound an inch in length on the right side of the brow, caused when a boy, by a fall down the steps of the Jumma Musjid at Delhi. The Moulvi has with him a small box containing the Koran, 500 rupees in silver, and some writing materials.

2. Futtah, a Mujawar of the Jumma Musjid of Delhi.

3. Munna, only known as a Fakir.

Dr. Walker could render these people no assistance even if the tale were true. He offered two convicts free pardons if they could succeed, by giving presents to the aborigines, in bringing these people into the Settlement. The convicts would not undertake the mission,

as from their knowledge of the savages they considered it hopeless for the pilgrims, and certain death for themselves.

Dr. Walker's only hope was that, should any aborigines be taken prisoners in any attack he might have to repel, he would try to procure the pilgrims by effecting an exchange.

The above story seems plausible, but I doubt whether at that time convicts could safely go to and from Rutland Island, as, in addition to the difficulty of crossing McPherson's Straits during the South-West Monsoon, there were three Tribes of Andamanese to be reckoned with, each speaking a different language, and being hostile to each other. The Andamanese whom I have consulted have no recollection of such a wreck having occurred, and say that, had any pilgrims landed, they would have been at once massacred.

The story of the 500 canoes is utterly ridiculous.

On the 26th March, 1859, Dr. Walker, having been promoted to the rank of Surgeon in the Army, resigned his appointment as Superintendent of Port Blair, stating his health was so broken with the worry of the Settlement work and the effects of the malarious climate, that he urgently required a change.

On the 29th July, 1859, Captain J. C. Haughton, of the 54th Native Infantry, was appointed by the Government of India to succeed Dr. Walker.

Captain Haughton was then attached to the Moulmein Commission, and was the Magistrate who had investigated the case of the murder of some of the Chinese crew of the junk *Fuen Gren* by the Andamanese, as related in Chapter VI, in February, 1856.

He was unable to join the appointment at once, as will be shown, but took over charge from Dr. Walker on the 3rd October, 1859.

Dr. Walker, when leaving, must have had much satisfaction in knowing that he had given so energetic a start to the Penal Settlement.

Had he been able to devote more time personally to the aborigines, he might have possibly commenced a friendly intercourse with them, but harassed as he was with work, and having little assistance,

this could not be expected. The hostility of, and fights with, the Andamanese were only what might have been anticipated, and these, at such an energetic opening of the Settlement, no one could have averted.

The Andamanese were naturally alarmed and enraged at the manner in which their country was being cleared and appropriated on all sides, and the conflicts with the convicts, and with the Naval Guard, in which the latter were the aggressors, only increased that alarm.

It must also be remembered in contrasting this with the opening of Blair's Settlement in 1789, that Lieutenant Blair had principally to deal with the more peaceable and timid Jàrawa Tribe, who since then appear to have become fewer in number and feebler, being probably gradually ousted from the harbour by the fierce and numerous Sèpts of the Áka-*Béa*-da.

Dr. Walker had the latter to deal with, and even Lieutenant Blair was unable to make anything of them, for his friendly relations were only with the people on the south side of the harbour (shown by Colebrooke's paper to have been Jàrawas), and he suffered from attacks by the Áka-*Béa*-da who lived on the north side.

Lieutenant Blair's clearings also were nothing like so extensive as Dr. Walker's.

OF THE ROYAL BRANCH OF THE SOCIETY

CHAPTER IX.

Captain Haughton visits Penang and Atcheen to look for Andamanese—Andamanese in Siam—Captain Haughton's reforming and enlightened policy—Andamanese behave better—Cyclone—Naval Guard attacked by Andamanese—Captain Haughton's Report on the Andamanese—Dr. Gamack and Lieutenant Hellard began to make friends with the Andamanese—Dudhnáth Tewári released—Andamanese at South Point—Andamanese landed on Viper Island, and were friendly—Change in their attitude—Petty attacks—Further visits of the Andamanese to Viper Island—Fight on Viper Island with the Andamanese—Some Andamanese taken prisoners on Viper Island—Further attacks—Captain Haughton decided to send some of the Andamanese prisoners to Burmah for a time, and the Government of India approved—Colonel Fytche's remarks on the Andamanese sent to Burmah—Malay Prows seen near the Archipelago Islands—Remaining Andamanese prisoners released—Account of them—Further attacks by the Andamanese—The Andamanese returned from Moulmein—Extracts from the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society regarding the Andamanese—Vocabulary—Colonel A. Fytche's notes on the Andamanese—Major Tickell's notes on the Andamanese under his charge at Moulmein, and Vocabulary—Captain Haughton examines the Islands, and discovers "Kwang Tung" Harbour—Edible birds' nest collectors' reports—Major Haughton proceeds on leave, and Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Tytler becomes Officiating Superintendent of Port Blair—Notes on the vocabularies collected by Major Haughton.

BOTH the Government of India and Captain Haughton seem at this time to have been so much impressed by the importance of the establishment of friendly relations with the Andamanese that, on the latter receiving his appointment to the Superintendentship of Port Blair, he was directed by the Government of India to visit the Straits Settlements and Atcheen, before proceeding to his post, in order to ascertain whether any Andamanese were resident there as slaves, etc.; and whether, if any such people were to be found, the services of one or more of them could be engaged as interpreters.

He arrived at Penang in the *Pluto* on the 23rd September, 1859, and at once put himself in communication with Mr. Lewis, the Resident Councillor, who gave him every assistance.

He learnt that on two occasions, eighteen or twenty years before, natives of the Andamans had been brought to Penang; in one case the Andamanese was a slave captured by the Malays, and in the

other, some people were picked up at sea drifting helplessly in a canoe.

Of all of these but one person, a female who had been picked up at sea, survived. Captain Haughton saw her and states that she was then a servant in the family of Mr. Mitchell, Chief Clerk of the Police.

She had been carefully brought up at an English School and spoke English perfectly, but had lost all knowledge of her own language. When asked if she would like to revisit her country, she at once expressed her wish to do so, if she could get "a good place" there. She was however too valuable a servant to her employers to be lightly parted with. Of course, for the purpose wanted she would have been useless, and she was therefore not taken.

(This is the female referred to by Mr. Rodyk, and mentioned in Chapter V.)

Captain Haughton states that he mentions the above details "as "they tend to show that the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands are "not so low in the scale of humanity as to be incapable of a consider-"able amount of civilisation."

He also mentions a rumour he heard from Mr. Lewis, that two natives of the Andaman Islands had been recently picked up at sea by the *Emma* and had been forwarded to Calcutta in the *Chinsurah*. On a further enquiry being made into this matter, it was found that the two men, who were subsequently returned to their own country, were Nicobarese, thus showing how the two peoples were confounded even so lately as 1859.

Nothing more regarding the Andamanese could be learnt at Penang, so Captain Haughton left for Atcheen on the 26th September, arriving there on the 28th.

Here, although provided with a letter to the Sultan from the Viceroy of India, he was received with much discourtesy, and was not admitted to an interview with him; he however learnt privately that there were no Andamanese at Atcheen, so left that place on the evening of the 29th, and arrived at Port Blair on the morning of the 3rd October.

The reason given by Captain Haughton for the discourtesy he received from the Sultan of Atcheen was, that that Ruler believed that the English had suffered severe loss, if not complete defeat, in India during the Mutiny, and also that they were at war with the Continental Powers in Europe. He adds that Atcheen was the resort of all the pilgrim vessels to and from Mecca and the various Malay Islands and Principalities, and this agrees with the remarks by Hamilton in "Pinkerton's Voyages" quoted in Chapter III.

The Malay pilot who accompanied Captain Haughton from Penang to Atcheen informed him that he had, on two different occasions, accompanied expeditions from Penang to the Andaman Islands for the express purpose of obtaining Andamanese for sale at Junk Ceylon to the Raja there, who required them as a rarity, for presentation to the Court of Siam. Captain Haughton remarks on this :—

"It is probable that some persons who were carried off are to be found in Bangkok. I do not however anticipate that, even if their services could be obtained, they would be of much use, as it appears probable that Siamese would be the only foreign dialect known to them. I shall however make enquiry on the subject through the medium of Sir R. Schomberg" (who was then our Minister at the Court of Siam).

The result of this enquiry was that Captain Haughton was informed that the statements of the Malay pilot were correct, and that there were several Andamanese at Bangkok. Nothing further seems to have been done in the matter.

All this throws a light on the state of the Andamanese and gives an excellent reason for their hostility to all comers. Naturally a pleasant, good-humoured, and gentle race, they were driven to desperation by the ill-treatment they received from strangers, and acquired in self-defence a cruelty and ferocity originally foreign to their natures.

On taking over charge of the Penal Settlement Captain Haughton found that the escapes of the convicts were still very numerous, though during his term of office, owing to his milder method of

treatment and his general kindness, they gradually became fewer. He appears to have been an officer singularly well adapted naturally for the work he had to do, was idolised by the convicts under him, and is even now (1895) spoken of with affection by the few still remaining, who were with him, or who arrived shortly after he left, and who looked up to "John Haughton's" days as an Age of Gold. His policy towards the convicts was reforming rather than repressive, and with him grew up the system which has made the Penal Settlement of Port Blair what it is now considered; *i.e.*, the first Reforming Penal Settlement in the world, and perhaps the only one from which, as a rule, the convicts on their release return to India better citizens than when they left it. Captain Haughton was allowed a Deputy Superintendent (Mr. Walter, from the Tenasserim Provinces), who could occasionally relieve him of his duties in Port Blair and enable him to cruise about among the Islands and make the acquaintance of the Andamanese in their undisturbed haunts. He appears to have known more of the Islands than any Superintendent until Colonel Cadell came in 1879, and some of our "discoveries" (!) of later years I find to be only "re-discoveries" of what Captain Haughton had already found out.

Both he and Mr. Walter, being from the Tenasserim Provinces, where the climate and the nature of the jungle is much the same as that in the Andamans, were able to form a juster estimate of the way in which the Islands should be opened out, than Dr. Walker, with only Upper Indian experience, could. Captain Haughton stopped the large and indiscriminate clearing of jungle for health's sake, which was being so energetically pushed on by Dr. Walker, for, as he pointed out, the land cleared, if unattended to (and such attention would involve the employment of a large number of men, and be a mere waste of labour), would lapse in a few years into a dense mass of secondary jungle: he therefore only cleared such land as was required for building, etc., or could be at once placed under cultivation, and thus did not give such offence to the Andamanese by spoiling their hunting grounds.

He looked upon the establishment of friendly relations with the

aborigines as one of the most important of his duties, and by great tact and kindness was able to do much in this direction.

Towards the end of 1859 the Andamanese began to refrain from indiscriminately massacring all the runaway convicts they met with, and contented themselves with looting them of all the metal they had, only wounding them if they resisted or ran away.

On the 13th November, 1859, of some escaped convicts who had returned, several had been wounded by the Andamanese, who in every case took away their brass pots and the iron rings off their legs. One convict was very severely bitten in the hand in his struggle to keep his brass pot, and this man afterwards committed suicide, by hanging himself, as he was afraid of losing his hand by mortification!

Cases occurred of runaways actually being kept for a short time by the Andamanese, and being well fed by them on pork. The Andamanese may have had some idea of getting the convicts to make common cause with them against the Government.

On the 1st December, 1859, the Settlement was visited by a cyclone which rose suddenly with a north wind at noon and blew with intense fury till 8 P.M. It then ceased altogether for a short time (while the centre was passing over the Settlement), and recommenced with a wind of equal fury from the south-west. The force of the storm moderated about midnight, and before the following morning entirely ceased. Captain Haughton described the scene of destruction which presented itself as being most melancholy and disheartening:—

"The plantain trees, about 12,000 in number, were everywhere laid low; giant trees, between one and two hundred feet in height, were thrown down or snapped in half; the Naval Barracks, the Superintendent's bungalow, and the hospital on Chatham Island were unroofed; the convict buildings on Viper Island, with the exception of one new barrack, were prostrated; and the convicts' huts in every station were either thrown down or greatly injured.

"The *Nemesis* at an early period of the storm, finding that she was dragging her anchors, steamed up into the Inner Harbour.

The gun-boat attempted to follow her, and, I grieve to say, was thrown on the rocks. I believe that the extreme suddenness with which the gale arose rendered this accident unavoidable." (She was eventually floated off and repaired.)

One European of the Naval Brigade was very severely injured and one convict was killed by the falling of a tree.

The *Nemesis* was sent along the coast to look for wrecks, but none were found.

The following remark of Captain Haughton's is of interest, as showing how little the natural products of the islands and the sea were utilised at that time :—

" Burmese, Malays, and Chinese are the only people who could exist here as free settlers. They will live and thrive where the natives of India would starve. In illustration of this, I may mention that the Burmese and Chinese convicts last received had only been a day or two here when, on visiting their quarters, I learned they had found a turtle's nest and obtained 150 eggs. I also found here a heap of shells of clams, cockles, etc., plainly indicating some hearty meals, and in a day or two afterwards they captured a very large turtle—all events unheard of before their arrival here."

During December, 1859, Captain Haughton visited Rutland Island with a view to render assistance to the shipwrecked people mentioned by Dr. Walker as being there. He took with him the convicts who had brought the information regarding them, and landed on the spot where they were said to have been last seen, but could find no traces of them.

On the 27th December, 1859, a boat from the *Sesostris* was engaged in taking in water at Watering Cove. When the work was nearly completed, one of the Europeans of the Naval Guard, who was sitting close to a bush, was suddenly attacked from below by eight or nine of the aborigines, who wounded him somewhat severely in two places before he could make any defence. The remainder of the guard immediately fired on the natives, one of whom was wounded,

but got away. A lascar who was filling a water cask received a trifling wound, and the Andamanese ran away.

As this outrage was entirely without provocation, Captain Haughton was anxious to punish the Andamanese for it, if possible, and proceeded to Watering Cove with that intention. He could not, however, find any one. He then reported to the Government of India :—

"4. Having in view the orders of Government issued to my predecessor, I think it desirable to state here the rules I have laid down for the guidance of myself, and of those subordinate to me at this place, on the subject of contact with the aborigines.

"5. Looking to the fact that the aborigines of these islands are probably the most ignorant of mankind, and that they have had hitherto but too good cause to look upon the rest of the human race as their enemies, owing to the universal practice of carrying them off whenever opportunity offered, I have determined to use my best endeavours to avoid all aggression upon them, and, in the event of any opening occurring, to endeavour to conciliate them.

"6. I have, therefore, directed that they should never be molested, except when plainly intending to attack our Settlement or parties, I have discountenanced also all visits to places which they are known to frequent, and I have even withheld from sending out exploring expeditions likely to bring us in contact with them.

"7. On the other hand, I conceive it a duty to the servants of Government, and the convicts exposed to their attacks, to punish sharply and promptly any unprovoked attack by them on the Settlement, and in this view have directed that whenever seen attempting to enter our Settlement by stealth, or openly in a body, if armed, they are to be fired upon. I have offered in such case a reward of Rs. 100 for each captured alive. I may mention that one of the arrows fired at our men was tipped with a piece of steel which must have been obtained during the attack of the 6th April last."

To this declaration of policy the Government of India replied in

letter No. 436 of the 1st March, 1860, from the Secretary of the Home Department:—

"2. I am directed to inform you that the President in Council entirely approves of the determination you express in the 5th paragraph of your letter, to use your best endeavours to avoid all aggression upon the aborigines, and in the event of any opening, to endeavour to conciliate them; and His Honor in Council considers that the line of conduct indicated in paragraph 6 of your letter afford the best security against collision. The President in Council does not despair that, acting in the spirit of the resolution expressed in these two paragraphs of your letter, you may ultimately be able to allay the suspicious hostility of the aborigines, and pave the way towards rendering them harmless, if not useful neighbours.

"As it is possible that some of the convicts who have, while at large, lived with the aborigines, may be made the means of opening a more friendly intercourse with them, His Honor in Council desires me to state that you may consider yourself at liberty to adopt any measures which may seem to you calculated to promote this very desirable end.

With regard to paragraph 7 of your letter, I have to state that it is not the wish of the Government of India to interfere with any regulations which may be really necessary for the safety of the convicts or other inhabitants of the Settlement; but it seems to the President in Council open to doubt whether the orders which you have given to fire on all armed bodies of natives, and the reward offered for their apprehension alive, may not lead to collisions and encourage kidnapping, which would appear to have been one of the original causes of the hostility of the natives."

During the year 1860 some faint signs of a commencement of friendly relations with the Andamanese were observed. Dr. Gamack took an interest in the matter, and considered that the people living in the harbour were becoming more peaceable, though when he went to North Point on the 23rd March, 1860, he met with some new Andamanese who fired on and wounded him.

On the 28th May, Lieutenant Hellard, I.N., who was cruising off the Archipelago Islands, observed a large fire on Rose Island, and saw about fifteen Andamanese there. He did not approach them, and no collision took place.

Captain Haughton recommended that, as the Andamanese seemed to be more peacefully inclined, the station of Haddo, which had been abandoned on account of their attacks, should be re-occupied.

The Government of India read Lieutenant Hellard's and Dr. Gamack's letters on this subject with interest. They directed that the friendly disposition, now for the first time shown, should be extended, but that every precaution should be taken to ensure the safety of those who held intercourse with the Andamanese, and people must on no account place themselves in their power.

With regard to the attack upon Dr. Gamack and his crew by the Andamanese, the President in Council regretted that Dr. Gamack's natural eagerness to follow up the successful commencement he had made in opening friendly relations with the savages should have led him to expose himself and his men so incautiously. At the same time, he directed that further efforts, with caution, should be made to tame the savages.

(Captain Haughton seems to have been singularly fortunate in having two such officers as Lieutenant Hellard and Dr. Gamack to assist him in this work.)

In June, 1860, Captain Haughton called the attention of the Government of India to the case of Dudhnáth Tewári, which appeared to have been overlooked, and asked for his absolute release.

Dudhnáth, since his return from his sojourn with them, had often been pressed to go out and head a party to capture Andamanese, but had refused to trust himself amongst them.

To this the Government of India replied, in letter No. 2204 from the Home Department, dated 5th October, 1860 :—

"In consideration of the behaviour of Life Convict Dudhnáth Tewári, who, after being with the aborigines of the Andaman Islands for upwards of a year, returned to give warning of an attack which

they had planned to make upon the station at Aberdeen, at Atalanta Point, the Governor General in Council is pleased to comply with your recommendation in his favour, and to grant him a free pardon. He should be released and sent up to Calcutta by the first opportunity."

On the 30th June, 1860, it was reported that the Andamanese appeared on the coast at South Point and stole trifles from the convicts cutting bamboos there, but showed them no violence. A boat was sent out to watch them, but they then showed hostility, though on a gun being fired they ran away without bloodshed. An earthen pot and a human skull were found where they had camped, and the latter had evidently been worn as an ornament.

People in those days (and indeed even now) never seem to have realised that the Andamanese objected to strangers coming to their villages and taking away their property, quite as much as we should do, and that such conduct on our part could only provoke ill-feeling and hostility on theirs. The taming of the aborigines on the Little Andaman was, at a later date, much retarded by similar acts on our part, and I noticed a great difference in the behaviour of the savages there when once I had enforced the order that, whatever encampments might be visited, none of the property of the aborigines was ever to be touched, and presents were always to be left in all the huts we entered.

Captain Haughton wrote to the Government of India on the 30th June, 1860, as follows :—

"On the 19th June a party of aborigines landed in a friendly manner on Viper Island, and were met with and well treated by Kooshea Lall, the Head Native Overseer.

(This man seems to have had considerable tact; and had matters been left in his hands, and the Naval Guard sent off the island, probably the Andamanese would have become very friendly.)

"The following day a party of sixteen persons visited Viper Island, and went all over it, staying for some hours :—

"On the 21st a party of four Andamanese were passing, but a

shot having been accidentally fired by one of the European Guard, they were much frightened. They were, however, pacified and dismissed in a friendly manner. The intercourse with these people is a matter of extreme delicacy. I shall endeavour, however, to encourage them without running undue risks."

The above is noteworthy as being the first occasion on which friendly overtures were made by the Andamanese, and our relations with them began from this time to get on a more intimate and better footing.

The President in Council expressed much satisfaction at hearing of these occurrences, and hoped that the officers of the Settlement would do their utmost to promote the friendly disposition which had been shown by the Andamanese, taking at the same time all the precautions already enjoined.

The Secretary of State for India "perused the papers regarding the Andamanese with great interest, and trusted that the officers would do their utmost to promote the friendly disposition which has been shown by the islanders, taking at the same time all due precautions."

On the 18th August, 1860, the *Clyde* visited the Middle Straits and surveyed there. The party came upon some Andamanese who fired on them, but no harm was done. Some iron wreckage was found in a hut, and some of the Andamanese were seen in clothing, from which it would appear that they had been wrecking, though there were no other signs of shipwrecked persons.

On the 11th November, 1860, Captain Haughton reported that the demeanour of the Andamanese had continued to be generally peaceable. The only violence done had been a trifling injury to a convict by the discharge of a wooden headed arrow, because he refused to give up an axe with which he was cutting the jungle.

A gentleman who imprudently wandered into the jungle frequented by the Andamanese had had his tiffin annexed, but was not injured—treatment he would certainly not have met with a year before.

In December, 1860, a party of Andamanese came upon some men

of the *Clyde* who were getting water at Bamboo Flat, and attacked them, slightly wounding one European sailor. The men went off to the ship, but sent back a boat to recover the buckets and clothes which had been abandoned. An Andamanese swam off to the boat with the clothes. The buckets had been broken up for the sake of their iron hoops.

This showed a change in their demeanour from utter hostility to a mixture of timid hostility and would-be friendliness.

On the 17th December, 1860, some convicts who were cutting bamboos in the jungle west of Viper were fired on from an ambuscade, and one man was slightly wounded by an arrow. The savages were not seen, so the guard did not return the fire.

On the 31st December, 1860, the Gangsman on Viper, seeing some Andamanese on the opposite shore, went over to them and gave them some plantains. On the next day he went to meet them again at the same place, on their calling out to him, and gave them some more, but before leaving they fired a shower of arrows, wounding a boatman who died of lock-jaw as a result of the wound. The Gangsman thought the reason for the action was because the European apothecary had come down to look from the opposite shore. (The Andamanese are very easily alarmed, and this may have been the reason, but it all accords only too well with what we know of their treacherous nature, and resembles similar actions I have seen at the Little Andaman.)

On the 3rd and 4th January, 1861, three men and two boys landed on Viper. They wandered about and were allowed to take all the plantains they wanted. Captain Haughton found them, on the 4th, with a full load of plantains, trying to get into a rotten and broken canoe. They baled it out two or three times with a nautilus shell, and at last set off, but had to get into the water and swim behind the canoe, pushing it along. They showed no fear at being closely examined by Captain Haughton and his European Guard, but laughed and talked incessantly, and were quite ready to dance if any one clapped their hands by way of music. They had bows and arrows with them which they did not attempt to use.

From the above it would appear as if the Andamanese had become more really friendly, but I have ascertained from them that such was not the case. Their feelings towards us at this time were, that we were too strong for them to fight and overcome, so in order to obtain the fruit and metal they wanted, they cunningly put on a show of friendliness which they were far from feeling.

Captain Haughton seems to have understood this, as he ordered that, when the Andamanese came armed, they were to be ordered away, and were only to be allowed on the island when unarmed. He says :—

"With all their rudeness, the Andamanese well understand that it is manners to leave their arms on the opposite shore when they come to Viper Island. They are not to be allowed to help themselves or plunder, and only a moderate amount is to be given to them. On the 9th eight Andamanese came over in a canoe again to Viper Island. Four came up and four remained in the canoe. The former were fed as usual and dismissed with a full stock of plantains to each.

"They took what they had received down to the canoe, and returned for more. On being refused, they rushed into the Convict Line and began to plunder. The Sebundy Guard was called, and when they came in sight, the Gangsman caused the aborigines to be seized by the convicts. Their bows and arrows, with which they had threatened people, were taken from them, and after a short time they were released and suffered to depart. The Gangsman reports that, as they left, another canoe full of aborigines came, who, however, returned with their fellows. The Gangsman begged that he might be allowed to keep them off in future, as he apprehended mischief.

"He was again referred to his standing orders, *viz.*, to prevent any from landing till they had deposited their arms on the other shore, to treat them kindly, feed them moderately, and dismiss them. He was directed to prevent them from landing armed, and to seize any who, though unarmed, would persist in plundering."

On the 10th January, 1861, a large number of Andamanese

came down on the western shore facing Viper and eight came over to the island in a canoe. In spite of the presence of the Madras Guard and the exhibition of muskets, they landed and cut a large quantity of plantains without permission, filling their boat so full, that, to take the plantains away, they had to leave three of their number behind. The Gangsman had these three seized, and in the scuffle a convict was wounded with a knife made from hoop iron, which was carried by one of the savages suspended from his neck. A larger number of Andamanese then appeared to be returning in the canoe, so the guard fired over them, and both the people in the boat and those on the opposite shore fled.

One of the prisoners was recognised as having always been a leader of attacking parties, and was the man who unprovokedly fired and wounded a boatman (who subsequently died), on the 31st December, 1859. The sailors christened him "Punch Blair."

The Andamanese did not make their appearance on Viper again for some time, but on the 14th January eight Andamanese came upon a gang of convicts who were clearing a path from Atalanta Point to Navy Bay, and, without much resistance on their part, carried off the tools with which they were working. They also took the tickets bearing the convicts' numbers, the pieces of string, etc., about their persons, and the Brahminical cords of those who wore them. Previous to this occurrence, the Andamanese had not been known to cross the line on which the convicts were working for 15 months. A guard of twenty Sebundies was sent with the party the next day, when this party was again attacked. The Sebundies fired a few harmless shots, and the Gangsman seized and bound three of the Andamanese, taking their arms from them. One Sebundy was wounded with an arrow, and another had a bad bite in the arm. Two Andamanese had their ribs broken, and two had slight bayonet wounds, all of which were inflicted by the Sebundies after their capture, a fact of which Captain Haughton took serious notice.

One of the prisoners had a convict's ticket on the neck. This with an axe, and a Brahminical cord, were from the plunder of the previous day.

On the 16th January "Punch," who had been closely guarded by the Naval Brigade, managed to escape. Having a boyish appearance, though no boy, he was only secured with a cord which he bit through during the night, and bolted. Though the entire Brigade was turned out to search for him, he could not be found owing to the darkness.

On the 18th January a Punjabi male convict with his convict wife escaped from Viper. On the 24th a canoe was seen with a single Andamanese in it who had a white garment on. He was fired on. The Andamanese (supposed to be "Punch") abandoned the canoe, and on examination it was found to contain a tin of ghee, most probably the property of the convicts who escaped on the 18th.

On the 18th, also, a large canoe with eight or ten Andamanese in it, came round North Point, and on looking through a glass Captain Haughton saw that there was also a large party of Andamanese coming along the shore armed, and shooting fish, who kept parallel with the canoe. One of the shore party had a white cloth round his head and waist, and two were painted with red from head to foot. All of them were naked. Mr. Brown of the Naval Brigade was sent in a boat to observe the movements of the savages, and as he approached the party, some, including the white clothed Andamanese, made off into the jungle. A number, however, swam off boldly to the boat, and one of them was wearing a red cloth. Mr. Brown distrusted them from what he noticed of their actions, and fired a shot over them, whereupon they fled. The red cloth, which was abandoned in their flight, was identified as the upper clothing of the female convict who ran away on the 18th.

On the 29th the party of five Andamanese prisoners (the two who were captured with "Punch" on the 10th, and the three who were seized on the 15th) struggled violently but ineffectually to escape while out for an airing.

Captain Haughton writes:—

"The course to adopt with regard to the Andamanese has been a source of much anxiety to me. If too much encouraged, our people are liable to be plundered, killed, or wounded; on the other hand,

without some encouragement it would seem as if we must forever remain strangers, and at war with them.

"Considering the circumstances under which the five captives have come into our hands, *viz.*, that three were taken in an aggressive attack, and that the other two, though not actually at the time fighting against us, had formed part of an armed plundering party, and that one of them had, without the least provocation, inflicted a wound on one of our party, from the effects of which he died, I have thought myself warranted in detaining them with a view to their being made, if possible, the means of intercourse with their countrymen hereafter. But I find it impossible to retain them here without an amount of restraint which would defeat entirely our object in keeping them. One of them is old and grey-headed, another of them is deformed and stupid. These two I propose to keep for a time and then release. The other three I propose shipping to the Commissioner of Pegu, to be retained for a few months, taught a little English, and sent back. I consider the climate and surroundings of the Tenasserim Coast the most favourable for them, and with reference to this fact, and the fate of the man captured by the Andaman Committee, abstain from sending them to Calcutta.

"They will be embarked on the *Tubalcain* bound for Rangoon, and I have requested the officer commanding the Naval Brigade to send with them one of the men who has been specially in charge of them, and he will remain with them until his services are dispensed with by Colonel Phayre.

"Apart from a natural effort to regain their liberty, they have shown themselves quiet and tractable. They appear to be fond of their keepers, care for children and young animals, and are kind to each other."

Captain Haughton's conduct in this matter met with the entire approval of the Government of India, who issued instructions regarding the Andamanese to Colonel Phayre, and allowed the necessary expenses for their keep.

Captain Haughton's arrangement was most judicious, and, as after experience with the Öngés of the Little Andaman has taught, he took the only step which is of any use in taming the Andamanese; *i.e.*, he sent them away from their own country for a considerable period to a land where they saw something of civilisation, realised somewhat the extent and greatness of our power and their own insignificance and weakness, and, though well and kindly treated, were kept under a certain amount of discipline.

I have discussed the whole affair with Andamanese who remember the circumstances, and they state that when those who had been taken to Moulmein returned from there and related all that they had seen, the others were so impressed by what they heard, that they at last realised that they could not resist us, that we did not wish to injure them, but were willing to be friendly and kind, and they therefore began from that time to cultivate real friendly relations. They admit that all that had gone before was mere cunning and treachery adopted with a view to throw us off our guard and thus enable them to plunder with impunity.

They state that the real names of the Andamanese captured were:—

Tuesday Blair. Íra Jóbo.
Crusoe. Bía Kurcho.
Jumbo (who died in Moulmein). Bira Buj.
Friday. Turāī Dé.

In February, 1861, with a view to meet any attack on the Settlement by the aborigines, a path, fifty feet wide, was cleared from Atalanta Settlement to Navy Bay, the heaviest timber being left standing.

[This was utterly useless for the purpose, as the Andamanese would cross it, certainly at night, and generally in the day time, without being observed (as it was not, and could not be, guarded throughout its entire length), and would hide in the jungle on the Settlement side.]

The following correspondence is interesting as showing that, even in 1861, some few observers had an idea regarding the origin and true

ethnological position of the Andamanese, though this was not generally accepted, even in the scientific world, till comparatively lately.

Lieutenant-Colonel A. Fytche, Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, in writing to the Government of India in the Foreign Department on the 28th May, 1861, forwards a letter from Major R. S. Tickell, Deputy Commissioner of Moulmein, in whose charge the three Andamanese prisoners had been given. Major Tickell states that he has received on the 9th May the three Andamanese, at the request of the Commissioner of Pegu, with a view to their education and civilisation; and had engaged a Burman named Moung Shway Hman, who spoke English, and with whom the Andamanese were acquainted in their own country, to take charge of them, feed, clothe, lodge, and teach them English, at a cost of Rs. 30 for each man *per mensem*. He asks for a grant of Rs. 100 *per mensem* from the Government on behalf of these Andamanese, and remarks that they are in a desponding state of mind owing to their captivity, and that one of them is in a sickly condition.

Colonel Fytche asked that this sum might be sanctioned, pointing out that it would not be required for long, and in reply the Government of India sanctioned the grant accordingly.

Colonel Fytche in his letter goes on to say :—

"Mr. Blythe of the Asiatic Society, who is now staying with me at Moulmein, and has, with myself, made a special study of these men, considers that their reputed similarity to the true African Negro has been greatly exaggerated. He remarks that their forehead is well formed and not retreating, neither are their lips coarse and projecting, and their nostrils are by no means broad; their ear is small and well formed. The hair is unlike the so-called woolly hair of the Negro, and grows conspicuously in separate detached tufts. They have scarcely any trace of whiskers, beard, or moustache, and have been long enough in captivity for the growth of such were it existent. The hair of the head, also, shows no disposition to elongate, but continues very short and crisp. The complexion is not a deep black, but rather of a sooty hue; the hands and feet are small, the latter not showing the projecting heel of the true Negro.

"3. The Andamanese appear to be one of many remnants still extant of a race that was formerly very extensively diffused over South-Eastern Asia and its Archipelago, which for the most part has been extirpated by races more advanced towards civilisation, being now driven to remote islands or mountain fastnesses, such as the Andamans, the interior of the Great Nicobar (where they are reported to be constantly at warfare with the people of the coast), and within the present century for certain (*vide* Crawfurd), and probably even now, there are one or more tribes of them in the mountains of the interior of the Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo, and especially the Phillipine Islands, where the island of Negros derives this its Spanish name, from its being inhabited by a blackish race, variously known as the Negrito, Negrillo, or true Papuan. The race has its head-quarters in the great Island of Papua, or New Guinea, where some tribes are found attaining to six feet in stature, whilst others are so diminutive as the Andamanese.

"4. Upon the island continent of Australia, the true Papuan type has never been detected, but it formerly constituted the people of Tasmania, so numerous at the time of Captain Cook's visit, but which race is now all but extinct, three or four individuals only surviving. The history of the capture of the last remnant of the race inhabiting Tasmania is well known, and their removal to an island in Bass's Straits, where the Government provided them with blankets and a certain amount of food, but it is remarkable that they died off fast and chiefly from pulmonary consumption. The same remark has been made also of the New Zealander, belonging to a very different race of human kind, since the introduction of blankets and other European clothing amongst them, they having also been subject to pulmonary diseases which seem to have been unknown before.

"5. Now it is remarkable that, of the three Andamanese at present in Moulmein, one is already suffering from a pulmonary affection, and it is desirable that he at least should be returned to Port Blair by the first opportunity. The others also appear to be pining from this cause, or from home sickness, and they are not likely to learn much more than they have already learnt, should their stay be longer

protracted. Besides, it may not be desirable to overstrain their faculties. They are quite able to appreciate the kindness with which they have been treated, and it is well that they should communicate this to their fellow savages. It may be finally added that they have been uniformly tractable and good humoured, and have manifested a marked partiality for children. It is to be regretted that scarcely a word has been gathered of their language, the sounds of which are by no means confused or inarticulate. The reason is that they persist in imitating every sound that is addressed to them, and it is only when they try to make themselves understood, or are speaking one to another, that an idea of their vocal enunciation can be obtained. Although in the prime of life, they are in fact *too old* to be taught much. But, should any accident happen to throw children of the race under the care of Captain Haughton, there might then be a better opportunity of acquiring means of linguistic communication."

In the above Colonel Fytche falls into the common error of imagining that the hair of the Andamanese grows from the roots in tufts. In reality, the hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, but is of so curly a nature that when a few adjacent hairs have attained to the length of about half an inch, they twist together and form a little spiral tuft. Their hair will also grow very long, but some years is required for the effect to become fully apparent.

Colonel Fytche is entirely in error in considering the Papuans of New Guinea to be the parent race of the Negrito stock, the latter being by far the older, and Papuans not being true Negritos. It is curious that he should know so much of the habits of the Shom Pen tribe in the interior of the Great Nicobar, who are, as he correctly observes, at war with the coast tribe, but whose existence was only definitely known to the officials of Port Blair after 1878. They are not, as he and others since have imagined, Negritos, but are of Malayo-Mongoloid descent like the other Nicobarese. It is doubtful whether there are any true Negritos in Sumatra or Borneo, and those in the mountains of the Malay Peninsula (the Semangs) are not pure. The Negritos of the Phillipines, and the now extinct Tasmanians,

seem to have been, besides the Andamanese, the only pure Negrito races in modern times.

On the 23rd January, 1861, three Malay prows were observed about 26 miles to the north-west of Port Blair, proceeding northward through the Archipelago Islands. Captain Haughton at once sent the gun-boat *Clyde* after them, and they were brought in to him the next morning.

The headman of one of them was the same who had visited the Andamans in April, 1860. Their clearance was for the Nicobar Islands, but they had a letter to Captain Haughton from the Deputy Commissioner of Mergui, and a permission to call at the Andamans in order that they might ask to be allowed to collect trepang and edible birds' nests there. It was clear that they had no intention of asking this permission, so Captain Haughton detained them for a fortnight as a punishment and then sent them to the Nicobars. They, however, went down to MacPherson's Straits and hid there, where the *Clyde* found them on the 20th February and brought them in again to Port Blair. Captain Haughton then had their sails removed and detained them till the end of the monsoon. (We have since learnt that the Malays came freely to the Andamans at this time, and until very much later, indeed, it is doubtful whether we saw the last of them before 1884.)

As there was nothing further to be gained by keeping the two remaining Andamanese prisoners, who had not been sent to Moulmein, in custody, they were released on the 15th February, 1861, on the spot where they were caught. They were given as many of the usual presents as they could carry; appeared reluctant to leave their keeper, kissing his hands and trying to induce him to accompany them. (They were really blowing on his hands, "*more Andamanico*" in token of farewell.)

Captain Haughton thought that the effect of the capture and kind treatment of these men had been good, as there had been no attacks since, and a few days after their release, one of our boats, a short way down the coast, met a party of Andamanese with the hump-backed

man called by the sailors "Tuesday Blair." The Andamanese laid aside their bows and arrows and came down to the boat, two or three remaining with the women and arms about 100 paces off. They asked for plantains, which they called Kangray or Hangray (Éngarada). A sailor, wanting a bow, tried to bargain for it, but though it was brought for him to look at, he did not offer enough and it was taken back. The Andamanese were then given a fishing line and some hooks, and parted with on friendly terms.

Captain Haughton saw them in the distance at North Corbyn's Cove a few days later, and left plantains for them on the beach which they took after he had gone. He states that "judging from the demeanour of the captives when not trying to escape, the Andamanese appear to be kind to one another, gentle, and tractable. A Sebundy broke one of "Tuesday's" ribs, after capturing him, and his companion scarified him with broken glass and nursed him. They would eat from morning to night, preferring pig's flesh, roasted unripe plantains, and yams. Ripe plantains, biscuits, and rice they do not care for.

"Whatever is given to them they divide very honestly, though the owner helps himself first. The food over at night is carefully packed to be eaten in the morning.

"Very little of their language had been learnt, but a list of words was made by Lieutenant Hellard. As regards their religion, Symes says that they have none: Dudhnáth also says that they have not. Thr keepers say that daily when by themselves, but at no regular hour, they go through a kind of worship. They sit, and one repeat some words to which the rest respond, touching in turn various parts of their bodies. This would last for half an hour, and they left off when observed." (It is difficult to understand what actually occurred. The Andamanese were probably telling tales with their usual gestures, or singing.—*M. V. P.*)

On the 27th March, 1861, some Andamanese visited Viper Island and begged for plantains, coming unarmed and peaceably. They did not attempt to take any by force.

On the 11th May, 250 Andamanese men and boys suddenly came

to Aberdeen. The Gangsman drew up the men under arms and met them outside the enclosure. He gave them plantains, and five buckets of water which they drank. Seeing that something unusual was happening, Captain Haughton proceeded to the spot, and the Andamanese seeing his boat approach, decamped. He thought that they came to plunder, but were frightened by the guard. It appears that they had met some convicts cutting bamboos, and had taken from them 17 axes, and had wounded a buffalo.

On the 29th May a smaller party appeared on the same place, but beyond stripping some Burmese whom they met in the jungle, they did no harm. On the 12th June a party of Burmese who had gone some miles up a creek to get bamboos were surprised by the Andamanese who fired at them, and tried to capture their raft of bamboos. The Burmese evaded the arrows, and the overseer fired a charge of bird shot which put the enemy to flight without loss of life on either side.

On the 17th and 21st June some Andamanese came to Viper and begged for plantains which they were given. The Gangsman tried to induce them to bring in bamboos in exchange, but without success.

On the 3rd July, 1861, Captain Haughton heard that one of the Andamanese captives sent to Burmah had died there. He therefore asked that the remaining two might be sent back to the Andamans, as they had already been nine months in custody. His request was complied with.

On the 7th October, 1861, an armed force of police was provided to protect the convicts from the Andamanese; the Sebundy Corps, which had not been a success, being disbanded.

During July some Andamanese came to Viper and stole some plantains, and on the 25th of that month some others met a party of convicts at work in the jungle and stole their tools. The convicts resisted, so the Andamanese fired on them and wounded one man. The convict guard then fired and the Andamanese ran off. The same evening some more of the savages landed in two canoes on Viper after dark, and stole a quantity of plantains, but on a musket

being fired, they bolted. This landing to be given plantains in the day, and the attempts to steal them at night, went on for some time.

On the 17th August four Andamanese tried to steal some plantains, and being prevented from doing so tried to shoot the sentry.

On the 20th August three men and one woman came to Viper, but being armed were warned off. The men threatened the guard with their bows, but the woman pushed the weapons on one side and began to beg. Presents were then given to them. It was noticed that the woman wore the apron of leaves (*Obunga*-da).

On the 22nd August another party of 12 Andamanese carried off a wild pig which a Burmese was bringing in to Atalanta Point, but some other convicts being near it was rescued. The Andamanese threatened them, but did not shoot.

On the 25th August four men landed on Viper and began to plunder. They shot at the sentry, were fired upon, and then ran off.

On the 27th they landed during the night and plundered in safety.

On the 29th they again landed during the day and were given presents by the Deputy Superintendent, Dr. Hayes.

On the 30th seven landed again, each bringing two bamboos, and were rewarded for doing so. They evidently knew what was required from them.

On the 31st some Andamanese came to Aberdeen, but did no harm.

On the 5th September, at 2 P.M., a party landed on Viper and began to plunder. A random volley was fired, and they swam off leaving their boat.

On the 12th some of them met some convicts and stole some tools.

On the 6th October a party landed on Viper Island at 11 P.M., and were accidentally met by the police rounds. A fight ensued, in which one of the police and one Andamanese were wounded, and the latter fled leaving their bows, arrows, knives, and 30 bunches of plantains.

On the 8th October a party came at noon to Viper Island, but were warned off. They fired, and the guard turned out and drove them off, killing one Andamanese and capturing their boat.

On the 10th, two boatloads of them came at 11 P.M., and plundered. The police stumbled upon them, a fight ensued, and one Andamanese was wounded. The others put him in a boat and made off, swimming and paddling, leaving one boat and sundry weapons.

They did not appear again till the 17th of November, when they met a fishing boat in a creek, and plundered it, taking everything, even the convicts' ankle rings.

The Andamanese in these quarrels were always the aggressors, and it is evident that they had no feeling of goodwill towards us.

On the 12th September the two surviving Andamanese were received from Moulmein, and were landed on the same evening, loaded with presents, and released.

On the 27th of October Captain Haughton saw a native in a small bay to the south of the harbour who followed the boat along the shore. Some plantains were held up when he dropped his bow and arrows and ran on ahead pointing out the best landing place. He was "Tuesday" who had been released on the 15th of the preceding February. He devoured the plantains, which, Captain Haughton says, were so unripe that a pig would not have eaten them, and when he asked for fire, the Andamanese went away, presumably to bring some, but was so long absent that the party had shoved off when he returned with it. They could see his companions, who were afraid to venture out from the cover of the jungle.

The following extracts from the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXX, 1861, pp. 251—267, are here given :—

NOTES ON THE ANDAMANESE CAPTURED AT PORT BLAIR.

Thursday, 10th January, 1861.—Three of the aborigines captured at Viper Island. Went up in the launch and found them in the stocks, and apparently quite indifferent, until taken to the boat,

handcuffed with their hands behind their backs. In beating down, they seemed to expect to be landed whenever we neared the shore: they instantly asked for "punno" (water), and all three at the same moment managed to bring their hands in front. On landing at Ross Island they were very sullen, but eating plantains freely or anything else that was given them. During the night one remained awake, and two out of the three managed to get off their handcuffs, their wrists being remarkably small. A man was appointed to look after each, and they named them Punch, Friday, and Crusoe, with the surname of Blair. They did not appear the least astonished at anything they saw, nor do they like the men over them to *leave them.*

11th.—Fish being brought for them, Crusoe turned cook, opening and cleaning them with his teeth, and, when done, divided it all equally; this finished, he roasted green plantains, and they all ate enormously. During the night, the one on watch, Punch, fancied the sentry was asleep, and awoke the others to be ready for a run; he then crept to the bottom of the bed, but a box on the ear soon convinced him that if Jack did sleep, it was with his weather-eye lifting. When taken, they were quite in a state of nature, but to-day they were dressed and taken up to the Superintendent's house. Here they appeared somewhat surprised, particularly at a large mirror, at which they grinned, but they were very much taken up with little Harry Haughton, and so inquisitive did they become, that Mr. Punch wished to lift his clothes to see whether he was a boy or a girl; he also wished to take ornaments from the neck of one of the native women. They now are not the least afraid, although at times very sullen.

12th.—Had all three at the officers' quarters, with the view of picking up some of their language, but they were so much taken up with pictures and other things that they merely repeated every word we said. Their height is: Friday, 4 feet 10 inches; Punch, 5 feet 4 inches; Crusoe, 5 feet 2½ inches.

13th.—Being Sunday, all three were nicely dressed in white, with straw hats with "I. N. Brigade" on the ribbon, which was a vast improvement. In the afternoon they went for a walk on the beach,

and went over the gun-boat, walking after their keepers in a quiet orderly manner. Everything like metal they admire and want, and when the handcuffs were removed, they did not wish them to be taken away, and at the blacksmith's shop they wanted to take away all the bar iron. In the evening, seeing the new moon for the first time, they called out "Auckalareeo," and commenced dancing and insisting on the men doing so with them, clapping with their hands to keep time, so that this is no doubt a great day with them. (No.—*M. V. P.*)

14th.—They seem to improve daily and their health is good. They all went to see the men at work at their different trades, but seemed only to care for the blacksmith and tinker. Punch, seeing an English woman, wished to kiss her (they do not kiss much—*M. V. P.*), and Friday took the chain, a silver one, off an Ayah's neck, which was of course returned. Seeing me he came up, and taking hold of my beard, put his hand inside my shirt collar, to see whether I had a chain of any kind. He also made motions to another officer, that he would cut his throat for his gold chain and ring; they are apparently fond of all animals, and have constantly a cat or a dog in their arms. They are very suspicious of our food, but will take anything uncooked, but they don't appear to eat undressed meat of any kind, and they also share all they get equally; at one meal they will eat a bunch of plantains weighing nine seers, or eighteen pounds, besides meat. When the natives of India were near them, they mutter at them, but it is impossible to catch the words, but it appears from their manner to be abuse. They were asking for their fish to-day, and having none, a pigeon was given to each, which they cleaned and boiled, but they were very much puzzled to see four killed at one shot. Crusoe, seeing a spy-glass, took it up, and brought it to the ready, taking aim at the same time, he then made a noise with his mouth, and threw his head back, as if he was killed. The working party at Aberdeen were attacked to-day, and driven in with the loss of all their tools, and a party of men (N.B.) were sent, but saw nothing of the aborigines; although they recovered some of the axes, etc. The officer states that he should say about 20 had been there, the natives report 50. A strong guard will be in future

sent to protect the convicts. The savages are evidently accustomed to food the instant they awake, and if anything is left, they roll it up in a piece of cloth, and mar it down, in the same way they hide away bits of iron of any kind; they seem quite resigned, and do not appear to care for their own free land.

15th.—The aborigines again attacked and wounded the convicts working in the jungle, also one of the Sebundy guard, but three were taken prisoners, and brought over; two are old men, and the other a nice-looking lad. I was informed that one of them, the oldest, and who has been injured in the back, apparently by a shot some time back, knocked over eight natives before he was taken prisoner: some bows and arrows were taken with these men; they are nearly the same as the others, and all about the same height. Their teeth appear to be all worn down flat, not sharp as in other people's. On their being taken to the barracks, their friends came to meet them, but they are not of the same party apparently, and they did not show any sign of pleasure at seeing them. Signs were made to take them to the wash-house, and here they were scrubbed, excepting the injured man, who was carefully placed on a cot until the arrival of medical aid, when he was fomented on the back, and had some medicine, and he slept for some time, and could then eat a good supper. At night these three were taken to another part of the barracks, when they all became frightened, and clung to the men in charge, and begged them not to let them go; and, to make them quite easy, they were shown where they going, and they went to bed quite contentedly. They dance and sing every evening, but they require to be constantly watched, as they want everything they see, One of the men passed during the day with some fresh pork, and they caught hold of him, and insisted on having some, calling out *Rhogo! Rhogo!* (pig, pig). The instant food is given to them they eat, and if you tell them that they do not want it, they draw in their stomachs, as though they wished you to understand they were empty. The men taken to-day are very much thinner than the others, and their heads are all shaved; one has the great toe of his right foot off, and he says it was taken off by a large clam. He is named "Toeless Blair."

Another has a long scar extending from above the knee down to the ankle, and is named "Tuesday Blair." The other is named "Jumbo." Crusoe was most anxious to have them dressed, and without being told they took off all the wild ornaments, and threw them down. One man had a large quantity of rubbish about his neck; also a convict's ticket, and even a Brahmin's thread, and two old rusty nails.

16th.—This morning they were in sad tribulation because they had no fish, and the beef and vegetables given by the steward did not satisfy them, but before eleven some came up, and they were perfectly frantic, dancing and caressing the man who brought it up. Mr. Crusoe turned doctor, he got the sick man up, washed his back with cold water, and punctured it all over with a sharp piece of glass which appeared to relieve him vastly, and he then washed off the blood, and turned to clean and cook the fish, eating all the small ones first, and leaving the coarser kind for the evening meal: in the evening they danced to the fiddle, and appeared in high glee.

17th.—About half past three Punch made his escape, having succeeded in the night to get his handcuffs off, but these were too precious to be left behind. Every search was made immediately, but the jungle gave him shelter, until he no doubt swam to the mainland, to fetch which he must be an expert swimmer, as it was blowing hard and a good sea rolling in. Friday had his irons off his hands, and was evidently ready for a start, but the first noise caused an alarm, and to his no small annoyance all his hopes were frustrated. On the principle of locking the stable door, the whole of them were placed in slight leg irons, which will at least prevent their moving far: all day they have been very sullen, and when out, their eyes seem to be constantly fixed on Atalanta Point, as though they expected aid from that quarter.

18th.—This morning, when raining, and they wished to go out, they took their clothes off first, so that they might not get wet. They still keep sullen, and are evidently ready for a bolt, provided they see a favourable opportunity; and with no place of security, and their well known cunning, it is impossible to keep them, however strongly

watched. Shortly before sunset, the air being cool and damp, I found them sitting round the fire, and each had a large piece of it holding it between his legs.

19th.—No fish being caught to-day, they had only plantains, and in the evening Crusoe went up to H. Smith and kissed him, at the same time pointing to the barracks, and making signs he was hungry, for sometimes they went to the men's messes of an evening, but since the escape it has not been allowed.

20th.—Irons are not at all pleasant, and to hear them growl is not bad; they are very anxious to have them taken off, and towards dark they pretend to have pains in all their limbs. Crusoe asked, so as to be understood, when he would be let go.

21st.—To-day they beg hard to have the irons off, and promise as well as they can not to run away, but it must not be done.

22nd.—Not at all pleased at having to clean their room out, the beds they are almost too lazy to wash, but would eat all day, if allowed.

VOCABULARY ATTACHED.

English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
Bow . . .	Borogelly . .	Not understood.
Fly . . .	Boomee . .	*Bumila*-da.
Bow-string . .	Flyda	Not understood.
Water, give . .	Pano do walay .	Páni, (Urdu) *dó wélij*-ke Water. I want to drink.
Yes . . .	Oh . . .	Ó-o.
Flesh . . .	Rogo . . .	*Rógo*-da means "A sow".
Fowl . . .	Deer . . .	*Día*-da means "mine" (possibly referring to the fowl).
Shell . . .	Ortamboo . .	Not understood.
To cut . . .	Chalock . .	*Chól*-ké.
Knife . . .	Coono . . .	*Kāūno*-da.

English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
To drink	Meengohee	Not understood. Probably derived from Colebrooke's Vocabulary.
Canoe	Hobab	Not understood.
Water	Panno	Obviously Urdu.
Plantains	Changrah	*Éngéra*-da.
Take off	Ne giah	Not understood.
To paddle	Cheilla	Not understood. Abuse was probably meant.
Tongs	Chy	*Kāī*-da.
Moon	Chuckalareoo	*Chiloko-léro.* The Moon in the first quarter.
Whiskers	Sooka	Not understood.
Music	Dentregnah	Not understood.
Eat	Lay	*Lé*-ké.
To give	De walay	Possibly "*Dó wélij*-ké." I wish to drink.
Yam	Chatah	*Cháti*-da.
Fish	Dar Jouh	Possibly "*D'ár-jói.*" I am going to cook it.
No good	—a mackrey	Not understood. 'Á *mék*-ré "he has eaten it" may have been said.
Wood	Chopah	*Chápa*-da. "Firewood."
Bed-quilt	Dootram	*D'ót-rám*-ké. I wrap myself up in it.

A Note on certain Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, by Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Fytche, Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces :—

A chance has occurred to me lately of observing three aborigines

of the Andamans, who were captured in the vicinity of Port Blair, some four months ago, in an attempt, together with others of their countrymen, to acquire possession of the working implements of a party of convicts. They were, however, surrounded by the convicts, who happened to be in considerable numbers at the time, and as many as seven of them were taken prisoners. These were deprived of their arms, and detained for some weeks at Port Blair, when one of them managed to effect his escape, and three others were released from durance. The remaining three who were less advanced in years than the rest of the party, it was deemed advisable to send off by a steamer leaving the Settlement for Rangoon, with a view to ascertain whether some knowledge of their language could be acquired, and at the same time to impart to them some idea of the power and resources of their captors.

While in Rangoon, they were lodged for security's sake within the precincts of the jail, under charge of an English sailor, who took them out daily for a walk about the town and suburbs. Though regarded with great curiosity by the Burmese, they did not appear to be at all disconcerted by the notice they occasioned. No progress was, however, made in acquiring means of communication with them, and it was thought desirable to forward them to Moulmein, from which place they might the more readily be shipped to their own country, should circumstances require it.

On their landing at Moulmein from the steamer, they happened to meet, and recognise in the street, an intelligent Burman who was formerly in the service of Captain Haughton, the present Superintendent of Port Blair, a man who had moreover a passable knowledge of the English language, and who willingly undertook the charge of them upon the terms offered to him.

On the voyage from Rangoon to Moulmein, Mr. Blyth of our Society had a constant opportunity of observing them, and contrived to ingratiate himself into their good favour. Short as had been their introduction into civilized life, they had already acquired a fondness for tobacco, and he states there was no better passport to their good graces than an offer of a cheroot, and it was amusing to observe how

quickly they learned the pocket in which any one kept his cheroots, for they would point to the pocket, and give a gesture by way of hint that they would like to enjoy one. Being thus indulged, they would quite politely offer to take a light from the cigar of any one who happened to be smoking in their vicinity, and in return would offer a light from their cigar when it was needed. They were in high spirits when on board the steamer, evidently supposing that the vessel was destined for their own country; they had picked up the name Port Blair and could always most readily indicate the exact direction of their own islands, pointing to the position of the sun as their guide. This they intimated by signs that it would be difficult to misunderstand. They were accordingly disappointed when brought ashore at Moulmein, and were at first downhearted, when the steamer left without taking them, but apparently recovered their self-possession in the course of a few days. One, however, was ailing from a pulmonary disorder, from which he is still suffering.

* * * * * *

Since the foregoing remarks were committed to paper, our Andamanese friends conceived the idea of an escape, and very nearly carried it into effect. One very boisterous and rainy night, it was discovered at 2 A.M. that they had absconded, and at dawn their footprints were traced to a saw-pit, on the banks of the Moulmein river, near their late place of abode, where it appears they had collected a few loose planks, with which they had formed a raft, and boldly launched themselves off. A single large yam was the only provision they had taken with them, as far as could be learned. Three police boats were sent immediately in pursuit of the fugitives, and at nightfall intelligence was obtained of their having been seen by a Talaing, on an islet about twelve miles below Moulmein. On the same night they must have again pushed forward on their raft, which was soon broken up on their arrival in rough water, whereupon they swam ashore, landing at the south-east corner of the island of Beloo Kyoung, near the entrance of the river. They were there seen by some villagers, who, suspecting them to be runaways, took them to their Kyee-dan-gyee, or village elder, by whom they were taken

proper care of, and forwarded into Moulmein. On the evening prior to their departure, they went to see Major Tickell, to whose charge they were entrusted, and appeared to be in particularly high spirits, patting him and others on the back, with the utmost good humour, and talking to each other in (to us) an unintelligible language. When brought before Major Tickell on their return, they appeared just as good-humoured as ever, quite unabashed and unconscious of having done wrong. They were very hungry when first taken, as might be supposed, and submitted unrepiningly to their destiny, very probably conscious that they had escaped a worse evil.

Moulmein, June 10th, 1861.

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The following memoranda, relative to the three Andamanese in the charge of Major Tickell, when Deputy Commissioner of Amherst, Tenasserim, in 1861, are republished (in an abbreviated form) from the original account in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

By Colonel S. R. Tickell :—

In May 1861 three Andamanese who had been captured near Port Blair, some time previously, and sent over to Rangoon by the Superintendent, Major Haughton, for educational purposes, were placed in my charge by Colonel Phayre, at that time Commissioner of Pegu.

Hitherto they had been attended to by one of the men of the Naval Brigade at Port Blair, to whom they seemed much attached; but they were parted from their keeper at Rangoon, and sent over to Moulmein under the care of one of the officers of the steamer, who forwarded them to me on their arrival.

They were dressed, when I first saw them, in light sailors' costume, slops and jumpers of white duck, and straw hats bound with black ribbon bearing the ship's name to which their former guardian had belonged.

They could not speak a single word intelligible to a by-stander, and looked so frightened and miserable amongst new faces, that after many attempts at coaxing and cheering them up, I considered the

best plan to be, to take them back to the steamer, and re-ship them for Rangoon. One of the small hack palankeen carriages that ply in Moulmein was therefore procured, into which they got with alacrity, fancying, I suppose, that they were to be immediately driven to Port Blair, and off they started for the steamer. But I had hardly re-entered the house and commenced a letter to Colonel Phayre about them, when back they came, walking hand-in-hand with a Burman amid a crowd of people, and appearing as excited and joyful as they were before dejected. On enquiring the reason for their return, I was told that, as the carriage was proceeding up the road, they had espied a Burman whom they had known in Port Blair, and overjoyed at the sight of a familiar face, one of them had opened the door, and before the vehicle could be stopped, got out (thereby receiving a rough fall on the ground), and embraced his old friend, whom they all three accompanied back to my house, in great glee, laughing, patting him on the breast, and putting their arms round his neck. That same evening I engaged his services to take the immediate charge of the Andamanese, and for the rest of their stay at Moulmein, they lived under his roof. The arrangement was particularly convenient, as the Burman, "Moung Shway Hman," speaks English, which it was proposed to teach the Andamanese, and is a man of steady habits and good character.

(From this it would appear that friendly relations had already been to a certain extent established between individuals in Port Blair and the Andamanese.—*M. V. P.*)

(Major Tickell was not able to agree with an opinion which has been more than once published, that the Andamanese have no affinity to the African race. He thought, on the contrary, that they appeared to be very closely allied. He did not think that the small ear and less gross lips were sufficient data on which to add a fifth to the four great divisions of mankind. He thought that the Negritos in the interior of the Philippines were of the same race as the Andamanese, and that, further to the southward, the ferocious savages in the interior of Sumatra, from whose hands Madame Pfeiffer had so providential an escape, were also probably the same, though her description

was not sufficiently detailed for us to judge. He adds that: "How the so-called Papuans came to be separated from the African race and spread through the Eastern Archipelago, is a matter for conjecture."

(After the above speculative digression, which in the original paper occupies a great deal of space, Major Tickell proceeds with his narrative.—*M. V. P.*)

Our three friends were named at Port Blair, "Crusoe," "Jumbo," and "Friday," and were labelled accordingly; each name being stamped on a tin medal worn round its owner's neck. The reason for this was that the Andamanese, as far as is known, have no proper names for each other, and readily adopt those which are thus given to them.

(The Andamanese have proper names, but are very ready to adopt nick-names.—*M. V. P.*)

On arrival at Moulmein all three had bad coughs, and Crusoe and Jumbo evident phthisical symptoms. Crusoe's health improved after some time, but Jumbo gradually grew worse, and his malady was greatly increased from exposure during inclement weather, in an attempt to escape, which he and his companions made one stormy night. They made their way in a native canoe towards the mouth of the Moulmein river, but were glad in three or four days to return under the guidance of the village police to Moulmein. Jumbo never rallied from the effects of this, and died in the jail hospital on the 12th June, nearly a month after his arrival. His comrades repaired to the hospital, and showed signs of genuine grief at his death.

(They also performed some singular ceremonies over the body, which, owing to precipitate measures, taken without reference to Major Tickell, to prepare the skeleton of the deceased for the Asiatic Society's Museum, he was not able to witness. Whenever Andamanese are taken away from their own country, even to another part of the Andamans, they at first become sick. If they survive this sickness, they do well, but there is always a risk even in bringing Öngés from the Little Andaman to Port Blair owing to the effect produced on them by the exposure, change of diet and surroundings, habits, etc.—*M. V. P.*)

(Of the three captives Crusoe, the oldest, who was apparently about 35 years of age, was the only one who showed any moroseness of disposition. Jumbo was of a cheerful, gentle nature; and Friday, the youngest, who was about 18 or 20, was very lively, good-tempered, and fond of Shway Hman, and Major Tickell. The Andamanese came frequently to Major Tickell's house, and were allowed free access to every part of Moulmein. Their curiosity at every new object was great but evanescent. They soon tired of everything, and when left alone relapsed into dejection, making unintelligible speeches with lamentable signs, which evidently had a reference to a return to their own country.

Some time after Jumbo's death Crusoe showed consumptive symptoms to a degree which made Major Tickell despair of ever getting him back alive among his own countrymen, but he rallied during the heavy rains, and left Moulmein for Port Blair fairly well. Friday, after getting over a cough which at first troubled him, remained robust to the time of his departure. Major Tickell notes that it is an extraordinary fact that savages accustomed from birth to go naked, or nearly so, contract pulmonary diseases if forced to wear clothing. (This has been remarked in Australia and the South Sea Islands.—*M. V. P.*)

Crusoe's height was 5 feet $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches; Friday's, 4 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The former was of a spare frame, to which may be partly attributed his pneumonia. Friday was square, muscular, and deep-chested. Both have small hands and feet, which, with their foreheads, are cicatrised all over with the scratches inflicted on themselves as a cure for all manner of pains and aches; and the feet of both had a constant œdematous appearance, with small feeble toes wide apart, as if they were never much used to pedestrian exercise.

(Their foreheads were bled for headaches, but the other cicatrices were the Andamanese form of tattooing.—*M. V. P.*)

Both occasionally complained of headache, and would then smell with avidity at salts, stuff their nostrils with leaves freshly plucked, or, as a last resource, score their foreheads with a knife or piece of broken glass till they bled pretty freely. They were much averse to

taking our medicines, and Crusoe on one occasion threatened his Burman keeper with a knife for trying to administer some nauseous dose. Neither of them would take to learning English. They repeated like parrots the words we endeavoured to make them understand, and at last grew so averse to their schooling that at any attempt to recommence it they would feign fatigue or sickness like any truant school boy.

They were in fact *too old* to learn, and although Friday was smart and intelligent, he showed it more by his extraordinary powers of mimicry than by learning anything useful. This persistence in imitating every gesture and every sound of the voice made it particularly difficult to obtain from him the Andamanese name of even any visible object.

(This description of the manners of the Andamanese is very correct. —*M. V. P.*)

Those entered in the annexed vocabulary have been elicited with no small labour and patience by myself and Shway Hman. I succeeded in obtaining the names of a variety of fishes common to the Bay of Bengal, by showing coloured drawings of them, but of quadrupeds they appeared to be perfectly ignorant, the only mammal they seemed to know was pig, "Rogo," and this name they applied indifferently to cattle, ponies, elephants, deer, and monkeys.

They appeared also to have very few names for birds, and when shown the pictures of some which I knew to be found at the Andamans, merely attempted to imitate the notes of any species they might have had in their minds at the time.

(This is correct. They make little use of birds, so do not trouble about them, only knowing a few by their notes, or the legends connected with them, etc.—*M. V. P.*)

To judge by Crusoe and Friday, the Andamanese are not a timid race. (They are very independent.—*M. V. P.*)

They mingled unconcernedly among crowds of people, and at first used to help themselves to anything they took a fancy to off the stalls in the bazar. When teased with the numbers looking at them, Crusoe would stride towards the throng, waving them off, and calling

out in Burmese, "alloong thwa" (go all). They took great pleasure in the Pways, or Burmese dances, and learnt to imitate the performances with marvellous exactness, to the great delight of the Burmese, who crowded to see them. Sometimes they exhibited their own national dance, which appears to consist solely in lifting their clenched fists above their heads, and kicking the ground rapidly and forcibly with their heels. (Not a very good description of the dance.—*M. V. P.*)

It has a peculiarly savage effect; but having apparently excited great mirth amongst the spectators, Crusoe and Friday took offence at such notice, and latterly never repeated their exhibitions. They used frequently to ride in hack carriages, and would walk up to a pony and hug it, though sometimes narrowly escaping a bite.

(They have a natural fondness for animals.—*M. V. P.*)

When first taken to see some steam saw mills where elephants were employed in stacking timber, they showed no alarm at the huge animals, although the first they had ever seen, and Friday was about to walk up to and pat a large tusker, when the bystanders restrained him. Of fire-arms, or of anything explosive, however, they seemed to have some dread. (Having probably suffered from those of the Malay slavers.—*M. V. P.*) Latterly they learnt very well the use of money, and any cash in their possession was usually spent in the purchase of pork or other meat at the Chinaman's shops. Fruit (except plantains) or sweets, they cared little for; but were very fond of tea prepared in the English way. Fish they were indifferent to, also rice, but they ate a great deal of meat and yams, making three hearty meals a day. I generally gave them a fowl when they visited me, and for which they took care to ask by calling out "kookroo koo," and imitating the cries of poultry. They killed the fowl by pressing the chest and neck, and swinging it round and round. They would pluck, clean, and boil it, their usual mode of cooking anything. Occasionally, they boiled meat on the fire, but never eat any animal substance raw. They never cooked for themselves if they could induce their keeper's wife, "Ma Shway," to save them the trouble. At my house they were allowed to sit at the breakfast table, where they behaved with

decorum, but quite at their ease; lolling back in their chairs, and pointing towards anything they wanted. They learnt to use a spoon, knife, and fork readily.

In their visits to me I used to remark that Crusoe on first arriving would shout out something in his loud, harsh voice. It occurred so often that I am inclined to think the act analogous to a custom in some parts of Ireland amongst the peasantry, where a man on entering a cottage calls out "Good luck to all here." I have never been able to ascertain what it was that Crusoe said on these occasions.

(The Andamanese have no such custom.—*M. V. P.*)

As I have before remarked these people appear to have no proper names, When one called to the other it was with a shout of "Hy," much as is used in hailing a cabstand.

Occasionally, however, they named each other Crusoe and Friday, and invariably spoke of their country as "Blair." They learnt my name, but usually addressed me as "Ma-ey" (Oh man); nevertheless, it is difficult to conceive how any community can carry on intercourse without the aid of proper names, both to persons and places, and I am not aware that such a strange deficiency has been observed in the language of any other tribe, however savage.

("Blair," as a name for the Andamans, the Andamanese must have learnt from their Naval Brigade Guard. Māia is an honorific equal to the English "Sir."—*M. V. P.*)

Although most pertinacious beggars, and glad to take anything offered them, their cupidity was chiefly shown for iron, of which they took with them from Moulmein a large quantity in the shape of knives, forks, *das*, or Burmese choppers, nails, scissors, hammers, and needles. They frequently sat for hours watching the blacksmiths at work, and also learnt to ply the needle with some skill, and to use scissors. As they acquired a strong liking for clothing, it is possible they will not willingly return to their old habits of nudity, and so will find their sartorial accomplishments of advantage. Although I procured them a quantity of the coarse kind of the tackle used for sea-angling, they took no interest in its use; which is the more singular,

as in their native state they are most expert fishermen, especially in spearing fish.

(In *shooting*, not *spearing* fish, and they never angle with hooks and lines. Their clothes were discarded the moment they returned to their native jungles.—*M. V. P.*)

Friday procured a bow and some arrows with which I met him one day armed, marching up the street at the head of a *posse* of idle boys; but I never had an opportunity of witnessing his skill at archery. He had seen guns fired, but never attempted to use one himself. They were both expert swimmers, their mode of progression being with the arms and legs alternately, the former under water; not striking out like an Englishman, nor throwing one arm out after another like the generality of continental Europeans. They could manage a Burmese canoe with ease; but never occupied themselves with paddling about for amusement. They evinced great pleasure in making short trips into the interior with their conductor, visiting the numerous orchards and villages in the vicinity of Moulmein. And as the arrival of the mail steamer invariably renewed their hankering after their own country, I used latterly to send them away during the stay of the vessel in port, and having found out their name for the moon "Chookleyro" (a certain phase of the moon, *i.e.*, first quarter.—*M. V. P.*) I was able generally to soothe them when much dejected, by repeating the word, and "Blair kado," (go to Blair), and holding up as many fingers as I supposed might mark the number of months they were likely to stay.

(They would have understood this.—*M. V. P.*)

They were fond of tobacco, and such snuff as was procurable in the bazaar, but owing to the state of Crusoe's lungs, smoking was not allowed to him latterly. They seemed to take pleasure in having the scanty, frizzly wool of their heads shaved off, an operation which was several times performed on them. (They are very particular about this in their natural state, as the long hair harbours vermin, which are uncomfortable.—*M. V. P.*)

They were very docile in learning habits of cleanliness; bathing every day, using soap, and getting their clothes washed, cleaning their

plates after meals, sweeping the floor, etc. To "Ngapee" they could never be reconciled. (They will eat no meat which is at all high or tainted.—*M. V. P.*) Besides the phlebotomising operation already described, they used when in pain, and also when feeling chilly, to apply heated stones to the afflicted part, and on such occasions would huddle together close to the fire. They shewed great pleasure at the sight of English children, and would kiss and fondle them, if the little folks permitted it. To Burmese children also they evinced great partiality, and frequently caressed Shway Hman's daughter, a child about five years of age. Their grief at the death of their comrade Jumbo was great, but not lasting.

When the time came for these poor creatures to return to their own country and it was explained to them that they were to go, which was chiefly done by patting them on the back, with a smiling countenance, and repeating the words "Blair kado" without the ominous fingers indicating the moons yet intervening, their delight is not to be described. For the two nights previous to their departure from Amherst where they were to embark on board the *Tubal Cain* they lay awake and singing, and had all their property carefully packed and put under their pillows. But at the moment of departure they showed unwillingness to leave Shway Hman's wife behind, and when on board the ship, were disconsolate at their Burman friend himself not accompanying them. Fortunately, they met there Lieutenant Hellard, I. N., whom they knew, and also a sailor of the Naval Brigade at Port Blair, who had formerly had charge of them and to whom they were much attached, and under the care of these kind friends they reached their native country safely, and were, with all their traps, put on the shore at a spot on the beach they pointed out, and quickly vanished into the jungle.

Nothing further has been heard of them. For a long time they were supposed to have been murdered by their countrymen for the sake of the precious iron articles they had with them, and it is not known if this is true.

(They lived long afterwards, and the whole affair was most judiciously conducted, as from what they had seen and then related

to their countrymen, the others realised our power, and friendly relations were established.—*M. V. P.*)

The experiment of civilising these two, by weaning them from their wild habits and creating artificial wants, to supply which should involve the necessity of frequent visits to the Settlement, and thus form as it were the nucleus of increasing intercourse with a superior race, has certainly so far failed.

(It had not at all failed. Sufficient time had not been allowed for the results of the visit to Moulmein to impress the others, and too much was expected in too short a time—a fault which has been repeated in later days. The Andamanese are suspicious, timid, and slow to change.—*M. V. P.*)

With younger subjects we might have succeeded better, particularly in teaching them English; but probably so at the expense of their own language and of their own habits, to such a degree, that as interpreters or channels of communication with the natives, they would have been as useless as Crusoe and Friday. It remains to be seen what effects will by and by arise from the repeated interviews between the aborigines and our people. Unfortunately, these are frequently of anything but an amicable nature, and tend rather to widen than to bridge over the gulf between them. Indeed, if the inference be correct that the inhabitants are of the same race as the Negritos of the Phillipines, who to this day keep entirely aloof from the settlers on the coast, we may surmise that the colonisation of the Andaman Islands, when its spread begins to interfere with the aborigines, will tend rather to the extermination of the latter, than to any amelioration in their condition. It is to be regretted that since the days of Colonel Haughton very little information is published regarding our relations with this truly savage people.

Rangoon, July 28th, 1863.

Crusoe and Friday spoke the Áka-*Béa*-da dialect, and the words given will be considered with reference to that dialect only.

Major Tickell notes "that some of these phrases are only inferentially derived, that is, from their constant recurrence under like

circumstances. When Crusoe or Friday was hunting about for anything and could not find it, they used to say in a vexed tone, "Kyta laya." If offered anything, they would, when refusing it, in an *affirmative* manner, say "Gada" as if they had it already, and so on. It is very possible then that many of these phrases are not literally rendered."

Major Tickell had some reputation as a linguist, and I have been careful to publish and correct the accounts and vocabularies of the Andamanese written by would-be scientific observers, in order to show how very incorrect an idea a person may form of savages with whom he has but a short acquaintance. I show below how incorrect and valueless Major Tickell's vocabulary is, and have little doubt that the numberless similar short accounts of other savages, and their vocabularies, published by casual visitors to their countries, are equally valueless and incorrect, and would warn students against them.

It should be remembered that such accounts as Major Tickell's and Dudhnath's, (also Dr. Day's and Admiral Becher's given later on), have been, and still are, accepted as correct by those anthropologists who are not engaged in original research; and dogmas are laid down, and theories enunciated by leading scientific men, which are incorrect, being founded on incorrect data:

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Fish . . .	Do . . .	This may be the Urdu word for "give," or may be an abbreviation of "*Dógāia*" "much" in Andamanese. "*Yát*" is the Andamanese word for "Fish."

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Man . . .	Ma . . .	This may be the short for "*Māīa*" an Andamanese Honorific meaning "Sir," and used when speaking to, or of, an elderly man. Friday would address Crusoe as "*Māīa.*" The Andamanese word for "man" is "Áb-*búla*-da".
Woman . .	Chana . .	This word is the corresponding Honorific used when speaking of, or to, an elderly woman. The Andamanese word for "woman" is "Áb-*pāīl*-da".
Water. Rain .	Pano . . .	Evidently the Urdu word "Páni"; the Andamanese words being, "*Ína*" for "water," and "*Yúm*" for "rain."
Moon . . .	Chookleyro . .	This may be either of two words. It may be intended for "*Chílóko-léro*" "a young moon," or for "*Kúklī*-ré" "I have forgotten." It is probably the former. The Andamanese generic word for "Moon" is "*Ógar*-da."
Yam . . .	Chatee	The Andamanese word for one species of Yam is "*Cháti.*"

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Plantains . .	Eng-ngeyra .	The Andamanese word for Plantains is "*Éngara*-da."
Rope . . .	Allak. (Bengali ? Alat).	*Bétmo* is the Andamanese word for "a rope," and the word given may be, as Tickell suggests, a corruption of Alat or may be taken from the Andamanese word for the fibre from which the rope is made "*Álaba*-da."
Cocoa-nut . .	Jayda . . .	The Andamanese word is "*Jéder.*"
Rice (unboiled) .	Anakit . .	This word is not understood at all, unless the exclamation of surprise, "Ána-kéta" was used. In this, and several of the following words, the Andamanese may have been trying to imitate something said to them in Burmese or some other foreign language. There is no word for Rice in Andamanese.
A stick . .	Erreybat . .	This is not understood.
Spit, to . .	Moochee . .	This may be intended for the Andamanese word "Móicho" "we."
A pot . . .	Tok . . .	This is not understood. "*Tóg*" is "a Torch" in Andamanese.

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
String . . .	Garrik . .	This is not understood. "*Gári*-ké" is "to take care" in Andamanese.
Cock. Poultry .	Kookroo. (Bengali)	There is no word in Andamanese for "poultry."
Plate or dish .	Wyda . . .	This is evidently intended for "*Wāī*-da," "Yes."
Hat. Cover .	Seytey Tók . .	This is not understood. The Andamanese have no word for "a hat."
A carriage . .	Raik. (?) . .	This may be meant for "*Róko*" "a canoe." The Andamanese have no word for "a carriage."
Knife. Sword .	Koona . .	"*Kāūno*" is "an iron knife" in Andamanese.
Pig. Pork . .	Rogo . . .	Correct.
Noon or Sun .	Aleyburdra . .	This may be meant for "*Bódo*-da" the Andamanese word for "the Sun."
A sore . . .	Angoonchoon .	This is derived from three words. "'Óng-ón-*chum*." "His-of-sore."
Fire . . .	Chaukay . .	This is evidently meant for "*Chóki* " "Cold."
Firewood . .	Chapa . .	Correct. *Chápa*.
Meat. Flesh .	Rek dama . .	"*Reg dáma*" is "pig's flesh."
Bread . . .	Ochata . .	"Ót-*chéta*" "a head" is here meant. The Andamanese speak of a loaf as "Róti (Urdu)-l'ót-*chéta*."

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Boiled rice . .	Chata . . .	"*Chéta*," "a head" may also be meant here as applying to each grain of rice.
A cheroot . .	Dákanapo . .	This is not understood.
A snake . .	Wangada . .	"*Wanga*-da" is the Andamanese word for one kind of poisonous snake.
A bow . . .	Karama . .	Correct.
Broken bits of glass	Beramato . .	"*Béra*-da" "Sparks" or "glittering fragments" may be here meant.
Needles. Arrow-heads. Bits of iron.	Tólbót . .	"*Tāūlbód*-da" is "iron."
Smoke . .	Moralitorkay .	"*Móla*-lá- yi-*tāūr*-ké. "Smoke ascends."
Maize . . .	Oodala . .	"*Údala*-da" is the Andamanese word for the Pandanus fruit, which might be thought by the Andamanese to resemble a head of maize.
A rat . . .	Itnachamma .	"*Ít*-da" is "a Mouse." "*Nāichama*" is "sharp" or "pointed."
Bones . . .	Táto . . .	"*Tá*-da" is "bon" in Andamanese.
Sugarcane . .	Teeree . .	"*Tédi*," the Andamanese name for a plant similar in appearance, may be meant.

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Sweet things .	Jóng . . .	This is not understood.
Little Girl . .	Chanjibal . .	"*Chána*," a woman. "*Bá*-la," "small," may be meant.
Little Boy . .	Majibal . .	Similarly "*Māīa-bá*-lá," "a small man," may be meant. Such expressions as the above are now applied to the children of Europeans.
Flower . .	Cheyda . .	The Andamanese may have disliked the smell of the flower, or may have, as is their habit, intentionally insulted and misled their questioner. "*Ché*-da" means "Dung."
Ship . . .	Cheyley . .	"*Chélewa*-da" "a ship" is meant.
A spider . . .	Nyonada . .	"*Nyónga*-da" is the correct word.
A mosquito . .	Taylay . .	"*Téil*-da" is the correct word.
Tongue, the . .	Kytala . .	"Áka-*étal*-da" is "the Tongue."
A tooth . .	Toka doobda .	"Āūko-*tóg*-da" is "a tooth." "Āūko-*dubu*-da" means "Affectionate" or "good-tempered."
A knee . .	Lo . . .	Correct.

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Blood . . .	Pay . . .	"*Té*-da" means "Blood." "*Pāī*-da" means "a lip," which might have been the thing bleeding.
Hair . . .	Eppee . . .	"*Pich*-da" means "hair."
A foot . . .	Onkono . .	'Ón-*kāūro*, "his hand," may be meant.
A nose . . .	Incharonga . .	"'Í-*chāūronga*-da," means "his nose."
An ear . .	Pogo . . .	"Ik-*póko*-da," means "the ear."
An eye . .	Edala . . .	"Í-*dàl*-da" means "an eye."
A hand . .	Gogo . . .	"*Kāūro*-da" means "a hand."
Bits of cloth . .	Rollo . . .	This is not understood.
A gun . . .	Birma . . .	Correct, "*Bírma*-da."
A star . . .	Chittooree . .	"*Cháto*-da" means "a star."
A stone . .	Tylee . . .	Correct, "*Tāīli*-da."
Wax . . .	Pyda . . .	Perhaps "*Pích*-da" from "*Ája-pích* (or *píd*)-da" "Beeswax" is meant.
The head . .	Pylee-da . .	"*Pāīli*-da" "the back of the head" is meant.
To-morrow . .	Garra . . .	"*Gara*-da" means "the earth."

Adjectives or Participles.

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Cold (as meat) .	Mauriwada . .	This is not understood. "*Māūro*-da" means "the sky."
Chipped . .	Lokkamen . .	This is not understood. "*Lóg kámin*" means "the way is here."
Lost, or concealed .	Kytalaya . .	"Āka-*tálaba*-da" "lost" may be meant.
Cold (as weather) .	Tatay . . .	This is not understood. "*Chāūki*-da" means "cold."
Spilt . . .	Kaupilay . .	This is not understood. "*Kúpila*" means "over yonder."
Unripe . .	Potowyk . .	This is not understood. "*Pútungāij*" or "*Chímiti*" are words for "unripe."
Hot . . .	Deggaralak . .	This is not understood. "*Úya*-da" means "hot."
Itching . .	Dowkodoblak .	"Āūko-*duboli*-ké" means "to cut the stomach open." There must have been a misunderstanding here. The Andamanese may have been threatening the questioner, who gave the threat as the word for "Itching." I have known such a case.
Good . . .	Ooba . . .	"*Úba*" means "Yes."

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Bad . . .	Ooka ooba . .	"Áka-*úba*," "Yes" is meant. The Andamanese here again evidently merely answered "Yes" to the questioner.
Tired . . .	Odoola . .	This is not understood.
Dead . . .	Awalay . .	This is not understood.

Verbs.

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
To sit . . .	Deedo . . .	"Áka-*dói*-ké" means "to sit."
To sleep . .	Mamee . .	"*Mámi*-ké" means "to sleep." "*Mámi*" is the Imperative.
To take . .	Nya . . .	"Ñá" is an exclamation meaning "Here you are," or "Take this," etc., according to the gestures given with it, and the context.
To go . . .	Kadó . . .	"*Káto*" means "There." This was probably the word given, but "*Kádól*?" meaning "Do you mean me"? may have been said.
To come . .	Ka meeka . .	"*Kámin kāīch*," "Come here," may be meant.

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
To bring	Taw	This is not understood.
To walk	Dikleer	"D'*Ík*," "With me," "*Lía*-ké" "to stroll."
To dance	Tykpa	Correct, "*Tikpá*-ké."
To throw away	Apay	"*Dépi*-ké" means "to throw away."
To vomit	Dadway	"*Ádwé*-ké," "To vomit."
To bathe	Darcha	"Ád-*chát*-kè," "To bathe oneself."
To cut	Kauppa	"*Kóp*-ké" means "To cut."
To give	Jay	"Jé" is an exclamation, meaning "Give me," "Quickly," "Do it," etc., according to the accompanying gestures and context.
To broil, to roast	Pówet	"*Púwu*-ké" means "To blow the fire into a blaze," and this word may be intended.

Adverbs.

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Much	Yâd	"*Dógāia*" means "much." "*Yát*" means "Fish." There is an evident misunderstanding here.
No	Yabadá	Correct, "*Yába*-da," means "Not," "No."

Phrases.

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Sit a little . .	Tara Deedo . .	Not understood.
Much fish . .	Yâd do . .	"*Yát dógāia*" would be correct.
Stomach full .	Tek bo . .	"*Tegbút*-ré" would be correct.
Don't go . .	Á kuddo . .	Not understood. Possibly Áka-*dói*, meaning "Sit down."
Rain falls . .	Pano lappa . .	"Pano" is evidently from the Urdu "Páni." "*Yum*-lá-*pá*-ké," "Rain is falling."
Put it down . .	Gulla loongdakéy .	"*Gara* len *dá*-ké." "Ground on put it."
I will remain here .	Do palee . .	Correct, "*Dó páli.*"
Take it (from another) . .	Nyey ree . .	An exclamation meaning (when another man asks for a thing), "Here it is, take it." "Ñé-ré."
Let it be: put it down . .	Tota da . .	"T'óte-*dá*-ké," is correct.
I will not give .	Oochin da . .	"Úchin" merely means "I don't understand," "I don't know," or "What do you mean?" etc., according to the context, and is an exclamation. "Uchin *dá*-ké" means "Don't."

English.	Andamanese given by Tickell.	Remarks.
Let it alone . .	Kookapa . .	This is not understood "*Kúk*-l'ár-*pá*." "I did not get food," may be meant. Literally "Heart is fallen," or "Hungry."
I will drink . .	Oowel lee . .	"*Dó wélij*-ké" means "I will drink."
There is none .	Tappee . .	"*Tápi*-da" "light," or of a bucket "empty."
I want to sleep a little . .	Tautaro mameekay	It seems as if the Andamánese had learnt a little Urdu. They now often speak a mixed language of Urdu and Áka-*Béa*-da, and what may have been said was "*Dó thóra mámi*-ké." I little am going to sleep. (Thóra being Urdu, and the other words Áka-*Béa*-da).
Stomach aches .	Udda mookdoo .	This is not understood.
I don't wish to stay	Oopa-do-palee .	"*Uba dó páli*" on the contrary means "I also am going to stay!"
Boats are racing, or rowing . .	Arra choro . .	This is not understood.
I have some . .	Gada . .	"*Ká*-da," "There it is."
There is some .		
It is lost, or I can't find it . .	Kytalaya . .	"Áka-*tálaba*," "It is lost," were probably the words used.

The Governor General being anxious that particular attention should be paid to procuring a vocabulary of the commonest words of the Andamanese language, with, if possible, the ordinary inflections, Major Haughton forwarded all the words and phrases which had been collected. They are reproduced here, not on account of their value, for they are often ludicrously incorrect, but in order to show how little value can be attached to the vocabularies of savage races collected by mere visitors to their country.

My remarks in the third column explain the mistakes in detail.

Towards the end of October 1861 some recently returned runaway convicts stated that the Andamanese had generally treated them kindly, after first plundering them of anything worth having, and the result of this was that the number of escapes increased.

One man, however, returned on the 21st November with both his arms dreadfully lacerated by a knife, apparently from wanton cruelty. His wounds, though severe, were not dangerous.

Major Haughton writes that, on the 13th December 1861, there was a severe shock of earthquake, and he adds that storms prevailed up to the end of that month, which he considered to be unusual.

In March 1862, he visited the Middle Straits, and anchored in the harbour on the western coast, at the junction of Middle and Homfray Strait, which he named "Port Charlotte." The island at the entrance of the harbour he called "Canning Island." The existence of this harbour seems, however, to have been forgotten, and it was *re-discovered* in 1883, when it was called "Kwang Tung Harbour," and the island at the entrance was re-christened "Spike Island."

Major Haughton suspected the existence of Homfray Strait, but had not time to examine it; he saw the waterfall on the western side of Spike Island, and notes the dead and decayed mangrove trees in the Straits. He thought that the death of these trees might be due to the cyclone of 1844, but they are now as they then were, and people have lately told me that their death was due to the cyclone of 1891.(!)

Major Haughton fully appreciated the value of "Kwang Tung Harbour," and it seems extraordinary that more notice was not taken

of the discovery by the Marine authorities at the time. He wished to have a Settlement on Spike Island in order to collect the bullet-wood there, but this was not sanctioned on account of the danger the wood-cutting parties would run from attacks by the aborigines.

At this time, the Burmese convicts, whom Major Haughton characterises (and with justice, if they resemble the present ones) as "all thieves," escaped in considerable numbers. They got away on rafts to the Middle Straits, and there was reason to suppose that they met the Malay birds' nest collectors there, and, giving out that they were shipwrecked seamen, were very willingly rescued. Indeed, the Malays, being themselves at the Andamans in defiance of the law, were not in a position to inform on the runaway convicts.

On the 6th April 1862, the Chinese Agent, who had obtained from Major Haughton a license for the monopoly of the collection of edible birds' nests in the Andamans, reported that a fully armed vessel was cruising about the islands and robbing the caves of the nests. He stated that he called at the Middle Strait cave and found no nests there; he then went further north and saw a boat which fled but afterwards returned. Her crew stated that they had gone to Narcondam Island for nests, but had been blown out of their way on to the Andamans. The Chinaman warned them off, when they told him that they were frequenters of the Andamans, coming there yearly to obtain nests, and adding in a brazen manner, "there are no real renters, we are all robbers together, and no one has more real right here than another, so we will not go away." It is worthy of note that in giving his evidence in the above case the Chinese collector had different Burmese names, which appeared to be well recognised by the native sailors, for all the parts of the Andamans he visited, even in the straits and creeks. This is a strong argument in favour of the theory that the Burmese and Malays had a good deal to do with the Andamans before our occupation of the islands. Major Haughton thought that this might be the same piratical Malay who had before attacked the people in the caves on the Tenasserim coast. No especial steps were, however, taken in the matter.

In May 1862 Major Haughton proceeded on leave, after having,

in addition to his work in the Penal Settlement, laid the foundation for our future friendly relations with the Andamanese.

Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Tytler assumed officiating charge of Port Blair in his place.

The following vocabulary was collected by Major Haughton from Dudhnáth Tewári, Lieutenant Hellard, I.N., and some men of the Naval Brigade, and was forwarded to Calcutta in 1862, where it was printed.

When he was understood, Dudnáth's words are fairly correct, the mistakes being probably owing to his questioner not understanding Urdu well, and having a defective ear.

Another instance is thus afforded us of recognising that Dudnáth was a more reliable informant on Andamanese matters than some of his critics would have us believe.

The words given by the men of the Naval Brigade are ludicrously incorrect.

The following instances are worthy of special notice:—

Bad.—Ha-mackrey.

The Brigadesman probably made some gestures and pointed to some food with a desire to arrive at the Andamanese word for "Bad," but the Andamanese, misunderstanding him, and thinking he was enquiring what had become of the food, replied, "A *Á mék*-ré." "He has eaten it."

Bed quilt.—Dootram.

In a similar manner, the Brigadesman pointed to a bed quilt and asked the name for it. The Andamanese had, of course, no name for such an article, and replied, "D'Ót-*rám*-ké" "I wrap myself up in it."

Fowl.—Deer.

A fowl which had been given to the Andamanese to eat was probably pointed to, and the name asked, when the Andamanese replied, *Día*-da,"—"It is mine."

Give.—De-walay.

Water being offered them, they said, "*Dó wélij*-ké," "I want to drink," this being translated as "give!"

Nose.—Lanta.

This word is given by Dudhnáth. It is probable that he pointed to his own nose in order to ascertain the Andamanese name for it, and the Andamanese replied, "*Lanta*-da," meaning "It is hooked," a mild form of abuse in which they delight.

Not.—Niching-bada.

This word is given by Lieutenant Hellard.

What he has taken for "Not" was probably "*Míchiba*-da," "What?"

Whiskers.—Looka.

The Brigadesman evidently pointed to his own whiskers, and probably then tapped the cheeks of the Andamanese in order to try and obtain their word for "Whiskers." They do not grow any, so answered "Ig-*lúta*-da," meaning "The part is hairless."

Well.—Bat-kala.

This word is given by Dudhnáth, and in this instance the mistake would appear to have arisen from the incorrect pronunciation of Urdu on the part of his questioner.

The latter wished to ascertain the word for

Kú, a.—A well.

but was understood by Dudhnáth to say—

Kowā.—A crow.

and Dudhnáth gave him the Andamanese word for "A crow," "*Bat-ka*-da."

Other small, and equally incorrect vocabularies were collected by the Naval Brigadesmen at this time, but they are not worth quoting.

	English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
		A.	
D.	I have stomach-ache . . .	Jooz-lujam . .	*Jódo*-l'í-*chám*, "stomach ache."
D.	Head—my head aches . .	Boongee . .	*Bongi*-da (fever).
D.	Adze or axe . .	Dooloo . .	*Wólo*-da.
D.	Ankle ring . .	Roonee . .	*Rāūni*-ké, "wrap round"—to. (Hence, no doubt, the name given to an article wrapped round the ankle, an ornament not before known to the Andamanese.)
D.	Arrow—iron-headed	Aila (or) Eyela .	*Éla*-da.
D.	Arrow—wooden-headed . .	Rayta . .	*Ráta*-da.
D.	Attack—an attack will be made .	Jheyte . .	*Jéti*-ké, to "hunt men," to fight.
D.	Attacked—How many attacked, or fought, or struck, or were killed?	Yay-chee-buda .	Probably "*Míchiba*-da." "What." The Andamanese answering "What?" because he did not understand what was said to him.
D.	So many attacked, etc. . . .	Kay-chee-kanay-dul	*Kichikan*-da, "so many."
D.	Ate—I ate it .	Lay-ay . .	*Lé*-ké, "to eat."
D.	Awake—to be .	Bo-ee . . .	*Bói*-ké, "to awake."

	English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
		B.	
N.B.	Bad (not good) .	Ha-mackrey . .	This is "*'Á-mékré.*" "He has eaten it."
D.	Beat—to . .	Doonga-pai-teekoo	*Do ngá pāiti*-ké. (I am going to shoot you.) The Andamanese answer to some one who offered to beat him.
D.	I did beat, or kill .	Tij . . .	*Tāij*-ké, "to shoot with an arrow."
N.B.	Bed quilt . .	Dooṭram . .	D'ót-*rám*, "I wrap myself up."
D.	Belly . . .	Joodoo . .	*Jódo*-da.
D.	Boat	Gayrin . .	*Géreng*-da, a tree from which canoes are made. A canoe made from this tree would be spoken of as a "*Géreng*-da."
D.	Bottle . . .	Beej . . .	*Bíjma*-da.
D.	Bow—a . .	Kurma . .	*Karama*-da.
N.B.	„ . .	Boro gelly . .	Not understood.
N.B.	Bow string . .	Thyda . .	Possibly "*Tāit*-da." The long shoots of the plant from which the bow string is made. Hence "a bow-string."
D.	Boy . . .	Aynee, or Eyenee .	Not understood.
N.B.	Boy, or girl . .	Beera . . .	"Bíra" is a Proper Name.

	English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
D.	Breast . .	Kam . . .	*Kám*-da.
D.	Bring . . .	Lay-ao . .	Evidently an Urdu word.
D.	Bury—to bury the dead . .	Boke . . .	*Búg*-ké.
		C.	
N.B.	Canoe . . .	Hobah . .	Possibly "*Úba*," "Yes."
D.	Chest or breast .	Kam . . .	*Kám*-da.
D.	Clearing, and cultivation . .	Putta-ma . .	*Ér*-l'ót-*pítama-ba*.
D.	Cloth . . .	Ooloo . . .	*Yólo*-da.
D.	Cocoa-nut . .	Juddur . .	*Jéder*-da.
N.B.	„ .	Judee, or Cheedee .	
D.	Come, sit down .	Aka-doo-a . .	Áka-*dói*.
D.	Come along (or go)	Roonga-rooloo .	*Dó-ng'ár-āūlo*, "I am following you."
D.	Copulate—to .	Lach . . .	*Lách*-ké.
D.	Cry—to . .	Chalock . .	Not understood.
		D.	
D.	Dive—to . .	Joomuk . .	*Júmu*-ké.
N.B.	Drink—to . .	Meengohee . .	A Jàrawa word, from Lieutenant Colebrooke's vocabulary.
B.	Drink—wilt thou .	Eena-veluk . .	*Ína wélij*-ké.
D.	I will not drink .	Eena-hwee-tay-gee	*Ína-tégi*, "put the water down." (Imp.)

	English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
		E.	
D.	Earth . . .	Choohul . .	Possibly "*Chúkul*," "a thorn."
D.	Earth, red . .	Kooput . .	Possibly "*Kóput*," "a bamboo bucket."
D.	Earth, prepared to rub on body .	Doongee-bilat .	Not understood. Possibly "*Do ng'ábbílak*," "I will carry you away."
N.B.	Eat—to . .	Lay . . .	*Lé*-ké.
D.	Wilt thou eat .	Agoo-mike . .	Not understood. "*Ággam*" means "the skin of a pig."
D.	I ate it . .	Lay-ay . .	*Lé*-ré.
D.	Encamping place .	Boor . . .	"*Búd*" is "a house." "*Bárāij*," "a village."
D.	Eye . . .	Dul . . .	Í-*dàl*-da.
		F.	
D.	Fire . . .	Chaplay-dul .	*Chápa*-l'í-*dál*-da.
N.B.	Fire . . .	Choppa . .	*Chápa* "firewood."
D.	Fish . . .	At (also Meen) .	*Yát*-da is "Fish." *Ming*-da means "a thing."
N.B.	Fish . . .	Dar-joo, door-joo .	Not understood. Possibly "'Ár-*jói*-ké," "to cook."
N.B.	Flesh . . .	Roge . . .	*Rógo*-da, "a sow."

	English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
D.	Fly—a . .	Boomla .	*Búmila*-da.
N.B.	„ . .	Boomee . .	„
D.	Foot—the . .	Pug . . .	*Pag*-da.
N.B.	Fowl (domestic) .	Deer . . .	*Día*-da, meaning "mine."
		G.	
D.	Girdle (the rope work of the Andamanese).	Boodh . .	*Bód*-da.
N.B.	Give—to . .	De-walay, or welay. Mio-dewalay.—Friend, give me.	Possibly "*Dó-wélij*-ké," "I want to drink." *Māia* means "Sir."
N.B.	Give water . .	Pano-de-walay .	Possibly Pano (Urdu) for "water." *Dó wélij*-ké ?" as above.
D.	Go . . .	Roonga-rooloo .	*Dó ng'ár-ăŭlo*, "I am following you."
D.	Gun—a . .	Pugray, also Phoogree . . .	*Púgari*-ké, "to explode," so, "to fire" off a gun.
		H.	
D.	Hair—the—of the head . . .	Jyre . . .	Probably "*Jér*-ké," "to shave the hair" is meant.
D.	Hand . .	Huth . . .	Obviously Urdu.

	English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
D.	Head—my head-aches . .	Boongee . .	"*Bongi*-da" means fever.
D.	Honey . .	Awagee . .	*Ája*-da.
D.	Hot—it is . .	Ugoo. Mawa .	*Úya*-da.
D.	Hungry—is, or am	Joodo-ya-buda .	Probably meant for *Jódo-len yába*-da, "stomach-in-nothing."
D.	Hurt—he, she, or it, is, or hit . .	Kop . . .	*Kóp*-ké—to cut.
D.	House . .	Boorj . . .	*Bárāij*-da, a village.
		J.	
D.	Jack fruit . .	Keetha . .	*Kāieta*-da.
		K.	
D.	Killed—I killed or strck . .	Tij . . .	*Tāij*-ké, "to shoot."
D.	Knife, (or sword) .	Koonoo . .	*Kāūno*-da.
		L.	
D.	Lie-down . .	Ma-mee . .	*Mámi*-ké, "to sleep."
		M.	
D.	Man . . .	Chow-eeka . .	Not understood.
D.	Many—How many attacked, or were killed.	Yay-chee-buda .	*Míchiba*-da, "What?" may be meant.

	English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
D.	Many—So many attacked, etc. .	Kay-chee-kanay-dul	*Kichikan*-da, "so many."
N.B.	Moon or Sun	Chuka-la-ree-oo . Chura-ka-leroo .	*Chílóko-léro*, the "moon in the first quarter."
N.B.	Music . . .	Dentregnah . .	Not understood.
		N.	
N.B.	Needle—Arrowhead or any bit of iron	Tolbot or tolbut .	*Tāūlbót*-da.
D.	Nose. . .	Lanta . . .	*Lanta*-da, means "hooked" and is applied abusively to a man's nose.
D.	Not—it is not, or is wanting . .	Ya-wura (or Yo-wura) . .	*Yába*-da.
D.	Necklace . .	Purayta . .	*Párita*-da, a necklace composed of pieces of a human rib, from *Párita*-da, "a rib."
D.	Natural calls, to answer . .	Archay-ta . .	*Ché*-ké. *'Á-ché*-ré. (He has—).
H.	Not—it is not good, or, I do not like it, or want it.	Niching-bada .	Possibly *Míchiba*-da. "What?"
		O.	
D.	Ocean . .	Tara . . .	"*Tára*-da," "the sand on the shore."

	English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
		P.	
D.	Pain—I have a pain in the stomach.	Jooz-lajam . .	*Jódo*-l'*í*-*chám*, "Stomach ache."
D.	Pain—in the head	Boongee . .	*Bongi*-da, "Fever."
D.	Paddle—to . .	Tapa . . .	*Tápá*-ké.
D.	Path—a . .	Teeka . . .	*Tinga*-da, "a path," "*Téka*-da" means "crooked."
D.	Pig—a . .	Reg . . .	*Reg*-da, "a boar."
D.	Pit, or hollow containing water .	Bat-kala . .	Possibly "*Batka*-da, "the osprey," also "a crow."
N.B.	Plantains . .	Changrah, or Kangray, or Kangerah	*Éngéra*-da.
		R.	
D.	Rain—to . .	Oo-ma . .	*Yúm*-da, means "rain."
D.	Red earth . .	Kooput . .	*Kóput*-da, means "a bamboo bucket."
D.	Road or path .	Teeka . . .	*Tinga*-da.
D.	Run—to . .	Kachuk . .	*Kāich-ík*, "Come here." (Imp.)
D.	Run together—to .	Muchay kachuk .	*Mōicho kāich-ík*, is perhaps, meant, but is bad grammar. "*Kāich, mōicho ík*," is what would be said.
H.	Run (Imp.) .	Kah . . .	*Káj!* "run quickly."

	English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
		S.	
D.	Screw-pine. *Pandanus Odoratissimus.*	Mang . . .	*Mang*-da.
D.	Sea or Ocean .	Tara . . .	"*Tára*-da" is "the sand on the shore."
D.	See—to . .	Tut-badee . .	T'eg-*bádig*-ké.
D.	Shampoo—to .	Pa-hee-ka . .	Not understood.
N.B.	Shell—a . .	Ortamboo . .	Not understood.
D.	Ship—a . .	Chullood, also chaylayma . .	*Chéléwa*-da.
D.	Sit—to. Come, sit down . .	Aha-doo-ee . .	Aka-*dói.* (Imp.)
H.	Snake—a . .	Wanga . .	"*Wánga*-da," a species of fresh-water snake.
D.	Stand—up . .	Kapee . .	*Kápi.* (Imp.)
D.	Stones—I will trow stones . .	Py-dul-ee . .	"*Pāidli*-ké, "to throw stones."
N.B.	String—rope of any sort . . .	Thyda . .	Possibly "*Tāit*-da," the long shoots of the plant from which the bow-strings are made. Hence "a bow-string."
D.	Swim—to . .	Peet . . .	*Pút*-ké.
D.	Step—footstep, or footmark . .	Pug . . .	*Pag*-da.

	English.	Andamanese.	Remarks.
		T.	
N.B.	Take (off) . .	Negiah, neegyah .	"Ñá" "give" may be meant.
D.	Tattoo—to tattoo the forehead .	Jeyte . . .	*Yíti*-ké.
N.B.	Tongs . . .	Chy-ky . .	*Kāī*-da.
		W.	
D.	Water . .	Aneea . .	*Ína*-da.
N.B.	„ . .	Pano . . .	An Urdu word, "Páni."
D.	Fresh water .	Bang . . .	"*Báng*" means "a hole." *Ína*-l'ig-*báng*-da," "fresh-water hole."
D.	I will make water .	Oloo . . .	*Úlu*-ké.
N.B.	Whiskers . .	Looka . .	Possibly "*Lúta*-da," "Not tattooed," "hairless," may be meant.
D.	Wood . . .	Chapa . .	*Chápa*-da.
N.B.	„ . . .	Chopa . .	
		Y.	
N.B.	Yam . . .	Chatah, chatay .	*Cháti*-da.
N.B.	Yes . . .	Oh! (Eeno and Ino are "Yes" and "No" according to one authority, but which is not stated.)	O-oh, also *Úba*-da, etc.

NOTE.—The letter A is always long as in *Ah*; the spelling of the contributors has been strictly adhered to.

The words marked H were given by Lieutenant Hellard, I.N.; those marked D by Dudhnáth Tewári; and those marked N. B. by the men of the Naval Brigade.

CHAPTER X.

Murder of Pratt by the Andamanese—Colonel Tytler proposes severe measures—Letter from the Government of India—The murderers of Pratt are arrested—Wallace's statement—The Andamanese become more friendly, and are allowed to see the captives—Truth about the murder of Pratt disclosed—Colonel Tytler's letters—Displeasure of the Government of India—Release of the captives—Convicts assisted in escaping by Malays—The country between Port Blair and Port Mouat explored—Mr. Corbyn in charge of the Andamanese—Colonel Tytler leaves the Settlement, and is succeeded by Major Ford—Colonel Tytler's letter to the Government—Colonel Tytler's letter to Mr. Corbyn—Narrative of Mr. Corbyn—Rupees 100 per mensem allowed by the Government for the Andaman Homes.

DURING the remainder of 1862 we hear nothing of the Andamanese, and as they seem to have ceased attacking the Settlement and murdering any convicts they met with, Colonel Tytler supposed that friendly intercourse with them had been established. He used to send small parties of the Naval Brigadesmen to their encampments, between whom, and the Andamanese, some sort of friendly intimacy seems to have sprung up.

From the Andamanese themselves I learn that such was the case, as, after the return of the two men from Moulmein, their account of us, and of our ways, influenced their tribesmen so much that they were ready to accept in a similar spirit any friendly overtures which might be made to them.

It should of course be borne in mind that the story of the Moulmein captives only influenced, (and that slowly), one Sept of the Áka-*Béa*-da tribe, and a considerable time would have to elapse before the Andamanese of the whole tribe were convinced of our friendly disposition.

Unfortunately, just as the friendly relations were beginning, the disgraceful conduct of a Naval Brigadesman, named Pratt, brought on a quarrel resulting in a further enmity on both sides, which prolonged the period of hostility.

On the 28th January, 1863, Petty Officer Smith of the Naval Brigade reported to Colonel Tytler that he, with a boat full of Naval Brigadesmen, among whom were four men named Pratt, John Hamilton, H. W. Brown, and John Watson, had gone by Colonel Tytler's order to establish friendly relations with the aborigines, to the Andamanese camp at North Point on the afternoon of that day and had landed there. The party were received by about 30 Andamanese of both sexes, who crowded round them and appeared to be quite friendly. Suddenly the Andamanese seized Pratt, held him down, and shot him to death with their arrows, on seeing which the other Europeans fired indiscriminately into the mass of savages, and then got into their boat and returned to the Settlement.

Colonel Tytler appears to have accepted this report as correct without any further enquiry, beyond recording the statements of the other three men mentioned above, and wrote to the Government of India recommending that great severity should now be shown towards the Andamanese in return for their cold-blooded act of treachery, advising that the convicts should be armed with muskets to protect themselves, and suggesting that a general hunt after the aborigines should be made with a view to catching and transporting them to some other island.

As if to strengthen Colonel Tytler's argument, but really as a result of the treatment they had received at North Point, some of the Andamanese attacked Haddo Station on the 5th February, wounded a convict sepoy, and carried off several cooking pots from one of the houses. On the same day also a convict while working at Aberdeen was suddenly seized by several Andamanese, two of whom held his hands while a third cut him on the neck, shoulders, back, arms, and thighs with a knife. The Andamanese then made their escape. Colonel Tytler, when reporting this occurrence to the Government, remarks that, if this goes on, Aberdeen and Haddo will have to be abandoned, as the convicts will not remain there. He pointed out also that he had only 50 armed convict police, scattered about; eleven being at Aberdeen, fifteen at Haddo, twelve at Viper, and twelve at Chatham; and added that they were not of much use,

and that two companies of sepoys were required. He characterised the Andamanese as "a race of treacherous cold-blooded murderers, assuming the garb of friendship for the purpose of carrying out their diabolical plans."

(As will be seen presently, the Andamanese might at that time have applied the above epithets with more justice to Colonel Tytler's Naval Guard.—*M. V. P.*)

He made every endeavour to catch the murderers of Pratt, who are described as being "Jumbo" and "Snowball." (Their Andamanese names were Jumbo-Tura, Snowball-Lokala.) From the fact of their being identified by the Naval Brigade, and being known to them by these names, it would appear that at this time there was some considerable intimacy between these men and the Andamanese.

The Government of India in commenting on the above, after summing up the facts in Colonel Tytler's report, state, in Home Department letter No. 1653 of the 14th March, 1863:—

"2. The Hon'ble the President in Council has received the intelligence you communicate with much regret.

"3. You were no doubt actuated by the best of motives in your earlier policy towards the aborigines, and your praiseworthy efforts to open a friendly intercourse with them appear open to no other objection than that your men went out in too small parties, so that on the first occasion of difficulty they had not the means of acting with propriety.

"If, when the unfortunate seaman was shot, two or three of the natives had been instantly seized as hostages, instead of an indiscriminate fire being begun upon a party of savages among whom women were present, the interests of humanity and civilisation would have been better consulted. The Hon'ble the President in Council is, however, prepared to make allowance for the action of men placed in sudden difficulty without anyone of superior intelligence to control them.

"4. It seems clear that you expected too much from your first apparent success in establishing friendly relations with the Andamanese and you are consequently, His Honor in Council believes, unduly

disappointed by the unfortunate occurrences which succeeded. The same series of events has presented itself over and over again with the Australian aborigines, the friendly intercourse, excessive confidence on the part of the European, then unexplained treachery from the natives. It is not to be supposed that the kindly disposition first shown was assumed or affected, but with races of such low organisation there is never any security against sudden outbreaks of rage or cupidity in individuals. The over-confidence first felt by the Englishmen, though natural, was a mistake, but the severity you recommend would be a still greater mistake. The Hon'ble the President in Council desires you to dismiss all idea of a general hunt after the aborigines, in view to transporting them to a separate island.

"5. Nor can His Honor in Council allow you to arm any more convicts; these men, as a class, are quite capable of exaggerating the fear inspired in them by the natives, expressly in order to have arms entrusted to them.

"6. A request will this day be addressed, through the Military Department, to the Government of Madras, for two Companies, one of Sappers and one of Native Infantry, to be at once despatched to Port Blair. You will proceed, on receipt of this letter, to take immediate steps for providing them with accommodation, and with the assistance thus afforded you, the President in Council expects that you will be able to afford efficient protection to your posts and working parties, and to expedite the work of clearing away the jungle about your Settlement. Within the range of these measures you are desired to confine yourself, and it is anticipated that they will not only suffice to free you from annoyance, but that the savages, finding themselves unmolested by aggressive reprisals on the one hand, and at the same time debarred from those European articles of food and convenience, the pleasures of which they have tasted, may endeavour to regain our favour by improved conduct."

In February, 1863, Colonel Tytler, who had been watching for the two Andamanese who murdered Pratt, managed to arrest them

in the following manner. The Chinese birds' nest contractor, who was trying to get out to the Archipelago, was obliged by adverse winds, and calms to anchor at North Point, at the very place where the Naval Brigade launch used to lay when the men were trying to make friends with the Andamanese there. The Andamanese swam off to the boat, pretending to be friendly, and dancing, in a treacherous manner, at the same time stealing all that they could get hold of. Notice of this was given to Colonel Tytler, and he sent a canoe with one of his office writers, named Paul, disguised as a Burmese, to secure "Snowball" and "Jumbo," and at the same time to give the other Andamanese presents of plantains and coconuts, to keep them quiet and friendly.

Paul went over, and the same evening two Andamanese swam off to the boats. One, called "King John," looked suspiciously at the new comers, as well as at the presents, and saying something to the other went back to the shore and did not return. After waiting a day or two the boats returned to Ross for a few days. The Chinese then sailed out to sea for some miles and returned and anchored again off North Point. About 30 of the Andamanese, both men and women, then swam off to the vessel, Snowball and Jumbo being among them. Food and presents were given them and the anchor weighed, on seeing which the women and most of the men jumped overboard, and swam on shore, but the boat sailed into Ross with Jumbo, Snowball, and nine other men. The Naval Brigade men, who had accompanied Smith over to North Point, then went through the murder in pantomime, in order to show the Andamanese the reason for their capture; presents were given to the nine Andamanese, and they were taken back to North Point and landed there. Snowball and Jumbo were detained as prisoners.

Colonel Tytler stated that he intended to forward these two Andamanese to Calcutta by the earliest opportunity, for detention there, as he wished to banish them entirely from their own country.

The Government of India approved of his proceedings and issued orders to the Government of Bengal for the reception and treatment of the Andamanese. They were to be kept in the Alipur Jail, and

special care was to be taken that their health was not to be in any way injured. Their language was to be examined by some trained linguist, and they were not to be treated with any severity.

On the 6th April, 1863, the Andamanese not having then arrived in Calcutta, the Government of India modified their order, and directed that they were to be sent to Moulmein for confinement in the jail there, as the climate of Burmah would be less likely to prove injurious to them than that of Calcutta.

In March, 1863, some feeble attempts were made to establish friendly relations with the Andamanese to the North of the harbour, but without success, the savages keeping in the jungle and being afraid to show themselves or take the presents offered.

At this time a Naval Brigadesman, named George Wallace, made a statement to Colonel Tytler that, about ten years before, a man named Knott had been living on the Andaman Islands with the aborigines, and was well acquainted with their language and customs. No action seems to have been taken on the report, which was probably incorrect.

On the 31st March, 1863, Colonel Tytler observed two canoes full of Andamanese hovering about North Point in a curious manner, as if wishing for friendship. He sent Naval Brigadesman Hamilton with a well armed boat's crew, and orders to give the Andamanese presents and be very cautious and friendly. Hamilton brought back two men who had boarded the boat of their own accord, and they were taken to see Snowball and Jumbo in their fetters. After speaking a few words at a distance they had the usual cry of greeting, which Colonel Tytler seems to have noticed for the first time, and not understanding it, thought to be something very much out of the common. Snowball, who acted with dignity, he thought to be probably a Chief. The new comers were given a quantity of coconuts and plantains, and were landed on North Point the following morning. They begged hard that the fetters might be removed from Snowball and Jumbo, and that they might be released, but this was not permitted.

Hamilton's statement regarding his interview with the Andamanese is:—

"The Andamanese hailed us from the shore. Two or three swam off and wanted us to go on shore with them. We would not, and anchored the boat. I told them to bring bows and arrows, and we would give them presents. I asked for women. They said they were in camp and asked us to go there. They call a woman "Beera". (This was of course the name of some particular Andamanese woman.—*M. V. P.*)

"We would not go to their camp, and they then said that two or three would go to Ross, and the rest would bring women and people to meet us on our return. The conversation was by signs. I said that the two men I took away would not return that night, and they seemed pleased. They shouted for Raggo (food), (Rógo "pig"), and wanted to see Snowball. I think one of the men we brought over is Snowball's brother. There were about thirty Andamanese. The rest were away hunting. They had two large canoes. It is the same party we used to see at North Point, and lately to the southward, before."

The action of Colonel Tytler in allowing these two men to see the prisoners was very judicious, for the other Andamanese thus learnt that they were only in captivity, and had not been killed, and a great impression seems to have been made upon the tribe generally.

Hamilton's statement shows only too clearly how little the Naval Brigade could be relied upon as peacemakers with the Andamanese. He first calls for bows and arrows, which according to Andamanese etiquette should never have been asked for, and to produce which before strangers was a sign of hostility, and he then asks for women.

This latter request, coupled with the subsequent disclosures regarding the murder of Pratt, throws a great deal of light on the interviews between the Naval Brigadesmen and the Andamanese, and gives a good reason for the latter's continued hostility to us, and their refusal to accept the friendly overtures of others.

On the 27th April, 1863, Colonel Tytler, in a letter to the Government of India, suggested that the two Andamanese prisoners who were then still in Port Blair, should be kept in Calcutta in preference to being sent to Moulmein, and then went on to state, with reference to his former reports relative to the murder of Pratt :—

"I thought it advisable in consequence of reports that have lately reached me, to take further statements which contain information which I was formerly in ignorance of. The four statements now submitted were taken from the three men who were present when Pratt was shot at North Point, and from the gunner of the Brigade (for I was anxious to know the general opinion of the men in barracks, relative to the cause of this unaccountable and apparently cold-blooded murder), and although the statements in themselves are conflicting and contradictory, and materially differ from those taken before, and submitted to you, they show beyond all doubt that "Jumbo" shot Pratt, and that the Chief "Snowball" was present ; but at the same time a cause for the act is now given (that Pratt tried to rape an Andamanese woman in the encampment soon after he landed—*M. V. P.*) which certainly none of the other statements alluded to, and which materially alters the features of the tragedy, and places the conduct of the savages in a different light to that formerly shown. I would, therefore, recommend that after they have been a sufficient time in Calcutta, and imparted any information we might acquire from them (their treatment being a series of kindness), that they be returned with a supply of suitable presents, to their native land, and liberated.

"In conclusion, I beg to state that I will send them to Calcutta by the first direct steamer from this port."

Colonel Tytler again addressed the Government of India on the 6th May, as follows :—

He begs that, should the proposals in his former letter be not acceded to, the Andamanese prisoners be allowed to remain in Port Blair in preference to being sent to Moulmein. "There is no doubt that their retention here has been productive of good results, for the

aborigines, ever since we have had these two men in custody, have behaved themselves in a most unusually inoffensive manner, particularly since the two aborigines came over here and saw them.

"Both Snowball and Jumbo keep in good health and spirits. I have had them taught basket-making, which they now make remarkably well, and the baskets when finished I take from them by exchanging a coconut for a basket. In this dealing they show an amount of natural honesty : for example, on one occasion, I took four coconuts intending to give them for baskets, but seeing none near the prisoners as usual, and rather than disappoint them, I gave them the coconuts, when to my surprise Jumbo got up, and went to another place where he was evidently keeping his baskets, and gave me five; I at once returned one and kept four, and this seemed to please them much. I think, if Government would permit me to send these two men to Calcutta, not merely as prisoners, but to see the comfort of a large city, our power, and a civilised world, and then return them to their own country, the effect would be great and certainly prove beneficial to our position here."

After a consideration of the above, the following answer from the Government of India to Colonel Tytler will not appear surprising.

In letter No. 4013, from the Home Department, dated 19th June, 1863, the Government of India, after summing up the information given in Colonel Tytler's reports on the Pratt murder case, go on to say :—

"The President in Council has observed with much regret the very unfavourable light which the information now submitted throws upon the conduct of the boat's crew sent out on the 7th January to establish a friendly intercourse with the aborigines. Nor can His Honor in Council consider it by any means creditable to your administration of the Settlement, that, owing to the imperfect manner in which, on the occurrence of the murder, the attendant circumstances were investigated by you, the Government of India is only now beginning to obtain materials for a correct appreciation of the origin of the catastrophe. Your former communications of February last were so framed as to convey to Government the impression that no

explanation of the attack could be given other than the faithlessness and impulsiveness of savage nature, and that, in your opinion, summary and exemplary vengeance ought to be taken.

"3. Your misapprehension of the case has led to the imprisonment for a considerable time of a man (Snowball), who, as it now appears, had committed no crime, but on the contrary had shown a consistently friendly disposition towards the Settlement. The President in Council directs that he be at once dismissed with some small presents, the reason for this change being explained to him as well as he can be made to understand it.

"4. The other should undergo a further detention at Port Blair of seven months from the date of this letter, in order that he may be impressed with a sense of his deed being no trivial matter, and that the islanders generally may be brought to associate a clear notion of consequent punishment with the infliction of any injury to any person belonging to the Settlement. During his detention this man should be taught as many useful things as possible; and, if his health fail, you are authorised to abridge the term of his imprisonment.

"5. The President in Council is unable to agree with you in your view of the advantages derivable from the despatch of savages like those on the Andaman Islands, for a temporary residence in a great city, far from their home across the sea. Such a measure, His Honor in Council believes, would be full of suffering to those on whom the experiment might be tried; and in the present instance it clearly could not be justified as a punishment."

On Colonel Tytler making some further references to the Government in justification of his conduct, he again drew upon himself their severe displeasure, in letter No. 4847 of the 4th August, 1863, in which the following remark, which most accurately describes the habits of the Andamanese, occurs:—

"You at once readily adopted the account which Petty Officer Smith palmed off upon you, though there were statements in that account which ought of themselves to have excited suspicion, showing as they did almost certainly that the attack upon Pratt was the result of some sudden anger, and that it was entirely unexpected by the

aborigines on the shore, some thirty of whom were close to Smith at the time, and never attempted to touch him."

The only possible good that the whole affair can have had was, that it overawed the Andamanese, showing them that we were the masters, and they the subject race, and that, whatever we might do to them, any unfriendly action on their part would lead to speedy and severe punishment. In this manner, and by our contact with them throughout the affair, they possibly obtained a knowledge of us which smoothed the way for friendly relations afterwards.

As the remainder of Colonel Tytler's action in this case is related in the Narrative of the Revd. Henry Corbyn, and in Colonel Tytler's letter forwarding that Narrative (given in full later on), I will only quote here the circumstances connected with the Andamanese which are not published in those papers. It is sufficient to say that Snowball was sent back to his tribe, with presents, on the 5th July, 1863, immediately on the receipt of the order of the Government of India, and that Jumbo, on Mr. Corbyn's representation that he had been without fetters for a long time, and had behaved very well, not attempting to escape, though urged to do so by the other Andamanese, was also returned to his home on the 12th October, 1863. This action, though not exactly in accordance with the orders of the Government of India, was noted by them without comment.

On the morning of the 17th May, 1863, two Cattoos manned by armed Malays arrived at the mouth of the Tavoy river, having concealed on board of them thirteen escaped convicts from the Andamans. This information having been communicated to the police there, an armed party in two boats went on board the vessels, the crew of which were inclined to offer resistance until they saw that the party of police was too strong for them, when they surrendered. It had been the intention of the masters of the Cattoos to make the coast much further to the southward, and to have landed the convicts there and help them across into Siamese territory, but the bad weather drove them up to Tavoy Point, on nearing the shore of which four Burmese, who formed a portion of the crew, jumped overboard, swam ashore, and gave the information.

These two Cattoos belonged to the Chinaman Tset Tsoung (an inhabitant of Mergui), who had purchased the privilege of collecting Edible birds' nests and Trepang at the Andamans, from the Superintendent of Port Blair, and who, though on former occasions he had complained against other vessels, seems to have been little better than a pirate himself.

The convicts, (ten natives of India, and three Malays), had escaped from Chatham Island on the 26th April, 1863, and were picked up at the mouth of some creek (probably off Kyd Island) in an English boat they had stolen. The three Malays persuaded the master of one of the Cattoos, named Tseil Soorin, to take them away, and after remaining three days off the creek the boat with the convicts was taken in tow.

Bad weather coming on after they had put to sea, the convicts were taken on board the Cattoos and the boat was scuttled. The Malay crews of the Cattoos denied all this, which was obtained partly from the four Burmese above-mentioned, and partly from the admissions of the convicts themselves, and pretended that they had picked up the convicts at sea, and had tried to take them back to the Andamans, but were prevented from doing so by the unfavourable weather. The convicts admitted that the Malays were paid three hundred rupees for aiding them to escape, while the Burmese witnesses further charged the Malays with a conspiracy to murder all the convicts on an island in the Mergui Archipelago, and take possession of their property.

The Malays and the convicts were forwarded to the Superintendent of Port Blair for trial, and Colonel Tytler sentenced the Master of the Cattoo, Tseil Soorin, to ten years' penal servitude, he being the ringleader, and the remainder of the crews to seven years' penal servitude each.

Another Cattoo put in at Yé about this time with birds' nests from the Andamans, and the Commissioner of Tenasserim drew attention to the fact that all these Cattoos were very strongly armed, and expressed a suspicion that, when business was slack at the Andamans, tney possibly engaged in piracy on the numerous junks passing up

and down the coast, many of which were said to have been lost and never heard of.

In consequence of this, he disarmed the Malay Colony at the mouth of the Tavoy river, and found that every man there was armed with muskets, Krises, or Malay swords (Parangs); and he also ordered a strict watch to be kept on all the Malay villages scattered along the coast.

A number of Malay and Burmese craft seem to have been lurking about the Andamans at this time and for some years later, and the days of the kidnapping of the Andamanese for slaves, and their hostile encounters with the crews of vessels had not entirely passed away.

It was not considered necessary on this account, however, to stop the collection of Edible birds' nests and Trepang, and in a further contract "shells" are mentioned, which may mean either tortoise-shell, of which a considerable quantity was to be procured at the Andamans, or pearl oyster shells, which were known to exist there.

On the 8th February, 1864, Colonel Tytler urged the necessity of having a small Settlement of, say, 500 convicts, under the charge of Mr. Homfray, at Port Mouat. It would prevent escapes to the west coast, and would also save shipwrecked people from being murdered by the Andamanese. He sent Mr. Homfray round to Port Mouat, by way of Macpherson's Straits, in the Steam Launch *Diana*, with orders to leave her there and come overland to Port Blair by compass course. Observations with regard to the feasibility of this had been taken from the summit of Mount Harriett, which was cleared, (the hill was called after Mrs. Tytler), and Mr. Prince was directed to leave Mitha Khári (a point on the mainland opposite Viper Island) on the same day that Mr. Homfray left Port Mouat, and to make for Port Mouat.

Mr. Homfray came across in five hours, and said that the distance was only two and a half miles between what are now known as Tytler Ghât, and Homfray Ghât, respectively.

(It is curious that Major Haughton, having struck too far to the north in his exploration of the same country, and not finding this neck of land, questioned the accuracy of Dr. Mouat and the other members of the Andaman Committee in their remarks about Port Mouat.)

A track between these two places was cleared twenty feet wide, and while superintending the cutting of it Mr. Homfray slept one night in a deserted Andamanese village.

The Revd. Henry Corbyn, Chaplain of Port Blair, accompanied Mr. Prince's party, and while they were in the jungle they were suddenly surrounded by about 200 Andamanese, all armed with powerful bows and iron-headed arrows. They had first formed in a semi-circle, and were evidently combined with a view to attacking our party, whom they tried to entice into an ambush. Mr. Corbyn had the invaluable Andamanese woman, called Topsy, with him, and by his presence of mind in knowing what was the right thing to do at the moment, and doing it, saved the party from assault. Taking Topsy by the hand he advanced towards the Andamanese man whom he took to be the chief, and who kept his arrow ready in his bow, looking a picture of savage hatred. Topsy spoke to him vehemently, imploring him not to fire, and eventually induced him to give his bow and arrow into Mr. Corbyn's hands. The others seeing this, and hearing what Topsy had to say, laid down, hid, or gave up their weapons, and became friendly. Mr. Corbyn brought back with him to Ross three of them, including the Chief.

The plucky conduct of both Mr. Homfray and Mr. Corbyn on this occasion is worthy of notice. They knew that they ran every chance of being murdered by the Andamanese, but were not influenced by this in their conduct of the expedition, nor did they lose their heads or fire a single shot at the savages.

Mr. Homfray had observed the wreck of a vessel near Port Mouat, and the marks of hob-nailed boots, evidently belonging to Europeans, some of which marks being found on the sand below high water mark led him to conclude that some of the crew were still alive. Colonel Tytler despatched a further party under Mr.

Corbyn to look for the castaways from this wreck, but none of them were to be seen.

The Andamanese had probably murdered them all, and were wearing the boots themselves for fun, as I have known them do in more recent wrecks.

On the 15th February, 1864, Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Tytler, who was still officiating as Superintendent of Port Blair in the place of Major Haughton, on leave, made over charge of that office to Major Barnet Ford, and proceeded on leave, as his health had failed during his term of office in the Andamans.

As, during Colonel Tytler's Superintendentship, Mr. Corbyn first became acquainted with the Andamanese, the Andaman Homes were founded, and he became the first Officer in charge of them, the first of his Narratives, with the accompanying letters, is here inserted.

Letter No. 22, dated the 25th June, 1863, from Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler, to E. C. Bayley, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India:—

"It is with the greatest pleasure I have now the honor respectfully to report, for the information of Government, the apparently great success which has attended my most ardent wish and desire, *viz.*, to establish upon a safe and permanent base a friendly intercourse with the aborigines of these inhospitable islands to strangers. This I trust has now to all appearance been fully established with at least one, if not two, of the tribes residing in the vicinity of our Settlement, notwithstanding the melancholy termination of our late apparently friendly intercourse which, by the imprudence of some of those engaged in it, ended unfortunately in the murder of Pratt of the Naval Brigade; the entire circumstances of that melancholy tragedy have already been submitted to Government. The two prisoners, Snowball and Jumbo, have been treated with the utmost kindness by the men of the Naval Brigade in charge of whose guard they remained as prisoners; but notwithstanding the kindness they received from these generous-hearted men, still I perceived that no advancement of importance had or was likely to ensue from a further sojourn in the Barrack guard, though unquestionably by their lengthened

stay there they had learnt to appreciate and value our kindness, and to a certain extent confide in our friendship. This in itself was a great step gained, yet at the same time I deemed it advisable to adopt other more active and advisable measures to push forward in a political point of view that which was likely to be of lasting benefit to the Settlement, and for all who might by unforeseen causes be compelled to visit these unfriendly shores, and attempt the bold step, if possible, necessary for civilising these savage people. I, therefore, after succeeding in inducing the woman known as Madam Cooper, and a boy, to come over and see Snowball and Jumbo, thought it prudent and advisable at once to attempt the accomplishment of my sincere desire. I, therefore, caused a house to be built in an enclosure surrounded on all sides by a bamboo fence in a well-inhabited spot on Ross Island; here I placed a guard of convict watchmen with instructions to guard rigidly the prisoners that were now about to be entrusted to their care, but to do so in a way not likely to excite their suspicions, or cause their distrust, but more to wait upon them and attend to their wants like servants. When these my arrangements were completed, I removed Snowball and Jumbo, along with the woman and boy, to their new habitation, which is situated sufficiently near my own house, so as to be immediately under my own personal supervision.

"Since it was impossible that such an arduous undertaking as I had ventured on could be satisfactorily carried out by the exertions of one individual, I solicited the Revd. Mr. Corbyn to render me the aid of his valuable assistance, which he has not only most willingly and cheerfully afforded, but from his gentle and conciliatory disposition has, I am proud to say, achievedgreat success towards the accomplishment of this desirable and important object so essential for the future welfare in every way of this colony.

"Since the arrival of the woman and boy, Mr. Corbyn has been the active means of inducing, from time to time, several more of the aborigines of one, if not two, distant tribes to visit Ross Island and join their friends. At the time I am now writing this letter,

viz., the 25th of the month, we have no less than 28 of the aborigines with us in the enclosure now known as the Andaman Home, *viz.*, 11 men, 6 or 7 women, the rest are children, one of whom is but a little infant in arms. I have increased the number of huts in the enclosure, and in fact have established a little village of apparently confiding savages in the centre of Ross Island.

"Their hitherto docile conduct and good behaviour are the astonishment of all who behold such a truly marvellous change after our late sad and fatal disaster. In this village (or rather as it is termed the Andaman Home) they are treated with little or no restraint beyond that which is necessary for their instruction. Here they may be seen sitting down, some working and making baskets, the women sewing clothes, and the two prisoners learning and repeating the alphabet of the English language under the guidance of instructors whom I have appointed. The aborigines appear cheerful and confiding, and exhibit no desire to leave us—on the contrary, they express great unwillingness to accompany us in our boats for fear of being taken away and returned to their wilds.

"I attribute the whole of this strange and somewhat marvellous change to the management and assistance rendered to me by the Revd. Mr. Corbyn, who at my request is most zealously prosecuting and carrying out my views. I sincerely trust those views are in accordance with the wishes of Government, and that they will sanction and approve of my conduct, and also permit me to incur the slight expense, comparatively speaking, which must necessarily attend the achievement of such a great object as the civilising of tribes of a savage, barbarous people like those inhabiting the Andamans.

"I shall endeavour to do so as economically and as reasonably as possible, and hope to do so with a sum not exceeding one hundred or one hundred and fifty rupees a month; for unless the savages are treated with every kindness and consideration, as well as satisfied by a repletion of food, I find that they become morose and dissatisfied, which it is desirable that in the infancy of my undertaking should be entirely avoided, so as to ensure success and instil in them a liking

and love towards us. We have acquired a great many of their words and sentences, and they have in the same ratio derived several English words and expressions, a full account of which will be found in Mr. Corbyn's report, which I have the honor to attach."

The following letter, No. 99, dated 30th June, 1863, was addressed by Colonel Tytler to Mr. Corbyn :—

"I have the honor to inform you that in my opinion it is most essential that we should establish, as much as possible, a friendly intercourse with the aborigines of this island; and in expressing the sentiment, I firmly believe it is also strictly in accordance with the desire and wishes of Government, which now exist, and ever did exist from the very first commencement of the Settlement. To obtain and succeed in the attainment of this desirable object, the greatest caution must be used, so that a system of entire pacification, and by no means irritation, should be our course pursued. The aborigines, from our experience of them, have proved themselves to be a truly savage, treacherous, and ungovernable race of people, devoid of civilisation, in every sense of the word. Knowing then the difficulty we have to contend with, I have deemed it necessary to publish an order, prohibiting everyone from going over to the North Point, or to any other places on the mainland, known to be frequented, or constantly resorted to, by the aborigines, without my special permission; for notwithstanding, however kindly or well meant such visits may be, yet without the most perfect caution some slight, unforeseen, and unintentional event may completely mar and frustrate all my plans. I, therefore, placing every strict confidence in your naturally mild and conciliatory disposition, entrust the management and care of this great attempt to your discretion and judgment, and I request you will assist me, as much as lies in your power, to carry out this important object, which I firmly believe is the wish of Government, the particulars of which I shall do myself the honour of laying before them by this very mail, and trust my conduct will meet with their approval. It will always afford me great pleasure to render you every assistance in my power, at the same time I shall feel obliged

for any suggestions you may deem necessary to propose for carrying out this important project.

"The number of aborigines we now have on Ross Island amounts to nearly 12 men, women, and children, a number I conceive at present sufficient for all our requirements. As far as any friendly intercourse being hastily and rapidly gained on a firm and lasting base with such savages, I question much in the present infancy of our plans, for whenever these people have an opportunity, they will, in their low cunning and blinded ignorance, presume on our generosity and kindness; we may then reasonably expect this will always be their chief aim, and we must ever, therefore, be prepared to meet this line of conduct on their part without exciting suspicions, and also by mildness frustrating their plans and gaining our object. I, therefore, wish that the aborigines we have be regularly taught the English language and that with firmness, decision, and kindness, as we would instruct children undergoing similar tuition; we do not require them to be taught or employed in mat or basket-making, or other work, which, though desirable at all times in themselves, are at present but of little use or value to the Settlement; but confine our actions to one great and chief object, *viz.*, being able to acquire the means of mutual understanding with them, which can alone be obtained by the aid of language. It is satisfactory to know that at present they evince no desire to leave us, nor is it desirable that they should do so. I therefore require that the course of training pursued be conducted in a way that they will learn to appreciate their now comfortable home and mode of living; and although it is desirable that those we now have should not leave us, or again be allowed to run wild in their woods, it is equally desirable that we should not bring more over who, in their fresh and ungovernable state of wildness, would materially tend to retard the advancement of those we have. I would, therefore, wish that no more be induced to come over at present, but think it desirable that occasionally, about once a fortnight, a few might with advantage be induced to come over for a very short visit, so as to satisfy their tribes on their return of the care we take of their people living under our charge, and after feeding and otherwise

kindly treating them to return them to their woods. By this means we secure a double advantage.

"*1st*—They must see the superior comforts of civilisation compared to their miserable savage condition; and

2nd.—Though not immediately apparent, we are in reality laying the foundation stone for civilising a people hitherto living in a perfectly barbarous state, replete with treachery, murder, and every other savageness; besides which it is very desirable, even in a political point of view, keeping these people in our custody as hostages, for it undoubtedly secures the better behaviour of these inhospitable people towards our Settlement; whereas their leaving us might injure and abolish all the good that has already been established, and might take years again to regain and recover were we to lose the great advantage we now hold and possess."

(I have quoted these two letters of Colonel Tytler's *verbatim*, and in full, as they show his policy towards the Andamanese, and justify Mr. Corbyn in the repressive conduct he was afterwards blamed for using to them. Colonel Tytler's action in keeping women and children as permanent prisoners was illegal, and his attempt to teach them English was a mistake. They should have been allowed to pick up a colloquial knowledge of Urdu from their convict attendants.—*M. V. P.*)

NARRATIVE

Of the Revd. Henry Corbyn, relative to the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands, submitted to Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler for the information of Government. Dated, Ross Island, the 2nd July, 1863.

Having been requested by Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler, Superintendent of the Settlement, to state, for the information of Government, the various circumstances of chief interest which have come under my observation in my relations with the aboriginal inhabitants of these islands, with whom I have associated, perhaps more than any other European, since my arrival at the Andamans, I proceed now

to recount in detail the information which I have gathered with regard to these people, their character and habits, describing the progress of my intercourse with them, commencing from the date of the two Andamanese prisoners named Snowball and Jumbo having been placed by Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler under my instruction.

These prisoners had for several months been retained in fetters at the Naval Barracks under a guard of the Naval Brigade, by whom they were treated with much kindness and indulgence, and regarded with an interest which they appear to have appreciated in the intimacy which sprung up and the friendly attachment which they show to many of the sailors. The two prisoners, however, though indulged in every wish compatible with safe custody, were regarded more as objects of idle curiosity than as rational beings capable of cultivation and improvement. People flocked to visit them as they would visit wild beasts in a menagerie, and on these occasions the untutored savages would laugh, and dance, and perform various antics to elicit mirth and gifts from the spectators. They were never allowed to leave the barracks, and were generally to be seen lying on the stone floor in the verandah with nothing but a small strip of cloth round the lower part of the body. Any other clothing given to them they reluctantly adopted, and chiefly made use of to fasten together their food and other trifles comprising the property of which they became gradually possessed.

About three weeks, or nearly a month ago, some more of their tribe having been seen on the mainland at North Point, a party of sailors was despatched, who brought back an Andamanese woman, the wife of Jumbo, known as Madam Cooper and now called Topsy, and a boy, supposed to be a brother of one of the prisoners. Soon after their arrival, I proposed to Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler to instruct them all in English, and they were brought to me daily to the Superintendent's house to learn the English alphabet.

Our first interview was of a very droll character. I showed them books with pictures, endeavouring to make them trace, and identify, and pronounce by name in their own language each of the objects represented, but when we afterwards turned to the alphabet, and they

were made to understand that it was to be frequently repeated till committed to memory, they became impatient, and at first attempted to avoid the task by jesting and shouting, and afterwards by other expedients, such as pretending that their heads ached, or by diverting attention to other trivial matters.

By coaxing and humouring them I succeeded for some time in fixing their attention, teaching one by one, for it was impossible to keep all to the task at the same time. The boy would rush off to one end of the room and dance and shout defiance. Madam Cooper would fling herself into an easy-chair, and once, before I had time to check her, threw herself at full length on a bed on which she left the marks of her body bedaubed with red mud. Another would run to the door and call for judder (cocoanuts) (*Jéder—M. V. P.*) and Panoo (water) (Urdu—*M. V. P.*), or as they more generally called it—"tin pot water," or a light for a cigar (the use of which they had learnt from the sailors), or else seize something on the table and set the rest into screams of laughter by his remarks and grimaces. This insane frolic would go on from day to day, almost baffling my efforts to civilise and instruct them. I was obliged at length to use coercive measures, which however were not without risk, for whenever they were slapped, they would slap in return, and use jocular or abusive remarks, which provoked roars of laughter from the rest at my expense. The savage boy one day brought with him a bodkin, and when I enforced his attention to his lesson as usual by holding his head over the book and making him repeat the letters, he pointed it at my eyes with a sign that he would pierce them with it, unless I gave up that obnoxious mode of teaching him. I am glad to say that perseverance in my course has been rewarded by the unquestionable proof exhibited that the Andamanese, who are most imitative and possessed of extraordinary memory and quick intelligence, may soon acquire our language, and it has justified my opinion that a much higher object might be attained in the compulsory confinement of these savages than merely impressing them with a sense of our liberality, and the generous treatment they experience, which, as savages, and without pure enlightenment, they would perhaps

not understand, or might look upon as a reward for their buffoonery, and the sport they afforded to the sailors and others who visited them.

(In about a month Snowball and Jumbo were able to repeat the whole alphabet, and to distinguish and point out each letter separately, so that when a bundle of wooden letters were shown to them they could at once select the letter asked for.)

Soon after the arrival of Topsy, *alias* Madam Cooper, and the boy Sambo, Colonel Tytler conceived a plan for locating the Andamanese prisoners with the new comers, and any others of the tribe who might subsequently arrive, in a small house on the island not far from the bazaar, where they would be watched by a strong guard of Natives, but otherwise enjoy full liberty, and their education continue to be conducted. In the course of time the place expanded, and what was intended to be a solitary house for one small family has become the centre of a cluster of houses, in a compound railed in, which are called "The Andaman Home." These have been peacefully tenanted by the savage aborigines, in no way restricted in their liberty, whose approach to these shores would not long since have caused consternation through the Settlement. Only last week there were no less than 28 Andamanese assembled in the Andaman Home, a sight which elicited comments expressive of unaffected astonishment and gratification from crowds of Europeans and Natives who witnessed it. Their submissive and orderly conduct, good temper, and the pleasure they evinced, were pledges of good understanding which, if discreetly maintained and not interrupted by acts of violence on our part, will, I am convinced, ripen into an intimacy and warm attachment, and be productive of incalculable blessings both to us and to this benighted outcast race, with whom our lot has brought us into contact.

(Considering the coercion exercised to keep the Andamanese in the "Home," the fact that their only reason for coming there was to see the two prisoners Snowball and Jumbo; and the circumstances attending the murder of Pratt and the consequent imprisonment of these two men, the above reads somewhat queerly.—*M. V. P.*)

But I have yet to relate how this good understanding has been effected. Colonel Tytler having one evening observed one of the Andamanese fishing up to his waist in water on North Point, determined to send his boat with men of the Naval Brigade to invite some of them. I volunteered with the Superintendent's Tutor, Mr. Redpath, to accompany the party; my chief object being to restrain the sailor, from any deprecable act, such as on a former occasion led to unforeseen calamity. Having rowed to the point to which through the telescope I had seen the smoke issuing from their camp, at about 300 yards from the land, we rested on our oars and shouted to the natives, showing plantains and other fruits by which they are usually attracted. One by one they came out stealthily. From the sound of voices there must have been numbers concealed in the bushes. At first two came towards the boat with bows and arrows. At the sight of these I was at first apprehensive of danger to our party, but the sailors assured me that they invariably brought weapons as presents to them in return for coconuts and plantains. We, therefore, continued to hail them, and soon five of them swam out and were taken into the boat, when they immediately gave up their bows, and one of them, knowing our habits, brought a large blazing log to light cigars.

(The Andamanese were no doubt well acquainted with the Naval Brigadesmen, who used to go over to North Point and sit in their camps. Fire was first brought for their pipes, and then women were asked for. The weapons of the Andamanese were also taken away, and some trifles given in exchange.—*M. V. P.*)

No sooner were they in the boat than they at once took possession of all the fruit, bread, and biscuits, which they concluded were for them, and devoured them with the keenest appetite. One of them hearing the sailors call for more bows and arrows jumped out of the boat and swam again to the shore, but as it was late in the evening we returned. Some others of the party came out on the beach, but it seemed doubtful from the delay whether or not they intended to come with us. The four Andamanese whom we brought over were a woman known as Queen Victoria, and re-named by me Bess, and three men who are well known as Joe, Jacko, and Jingo. It was thought

advisable to employ the new party as well as the former comers, and accordingly Snowball and Jumbo, besides their instruction in the alphabet, were set to work at basket and *morah* making, at which Jingo, a very quiet and tractable man, but who at first seemed the most unruly, assisted them; while Jacko and Joe were daily instructed by a Burmese to make bamboo matting for flooring, the women Topsy and Bess receiving lessons in sewing. They all showed a strong disinclination to do work of any kind. Joe, who is a very dodging and deceptive man, but extremely playful, almost always laughing and in high spirits, would try every artifice to escape the mat-work, at one time making a show of working hard at it, and as soon as he was not observed quietly sliding into a corner, or pretending to be raking the fire, or to want something left on the *machan*, or to be under the necessity of going out for a few moments, or else simulating illness, or if all these shifts failed, half petulant, half amused, with a bellow of disgust returning to his work, only to try the same tricks again and to jest at all around him. Jacko showed a more pugnacious spirit, and was inclined to resist with force till he found such resistance unavailing. The same opposition was encountered in teaching Topsy and Bess sewing, but they were soon overcome by firmness; and though now, for other important reasons, these industrial occupations have been abandoned, yet in the time they were thus employed both the Andamanese women gave proof that they had a real aptitude for delicate manual labour, and that they would be capable of doing the finest work in sewing under a proper course of training. I was amused the other day, on returning from the woods where I had torn my trousers—as soon as Topsy caught sight of the rent she pointed it out to the other Andamanese woman, and condoling with me as my leg was slightly cut and bleeding, neatly put the slit pieces of the cloth together again and said, and shewed, how, when she returned to to Ross Island, she would get a needle and thread and stitch them. I mention these trifling points as they serve to bring more vividly before the mind's eye the movements and actions, the habits, character, and dispositions of the curious and interesting people of whom I am writing.

I now adopted the practice of taking with me in my walks about the island and in boat excursions two or three of the Andamanese men, in hopes that a confiding familiarity and friendship would result from this constant companionship, andt hat the Andamanese might hereafter act the part of guides and prove of assistance in visiting places on the mainland.

Having been one day invited to Chatham to go with Captain Heath and Lieutenant Carr to pick coral on Blair's Reef, I took with me Joe and Jacko, and on our arrival at Chatham such a crowd of natives assembled to see the dreaded savages that we had the greatest difficulty in landing and making our way through them to the officer's quarters. The crowd followed us and surrounded Captain Heath's house, when to divert them I told Joe and Jacko to dance on the boards to the sound of our hand-clapping. They performed the evolutions very gracefully and with astonishing agility, their arms extended slantingly above them and just touching at the fingers, their feet almost sliding on the boards, and with a rapidity which could only be surpassed by running. They kept up these feats longer than usual, and at last Joe thinking the crowd too exacting, ran down and " tirpah'd " (danced) right and left amongst them, kicking out vigorously on all sides, and both he and Jacko almost bursting with laughter at the sight of the frightened natives tumbling over one another, and the rapid clearance which was soon effected. It was now the turn of Joe and Jacko to be diverted, so they insisted on making some of the spectators dance while they clapped their hands to keep time and encourage them.

The sepoys made them a fire at which they roasted unripe plantains, and lying leisurely on the ground chatted and laughed with the natives, pulling about the sepoys and examining with interest their clothes and accoutrements. While we were wading on the coral reef, Joe and Jacko sat for some time on a rock in mute astonishment, evidently perplexed at our taking the trouble to collect what they apparently considered common bits of rock and rubbish. By way of accelerating our collection, they brought me heaps of worthless deposits of stones and shells which I gratefully rejected. They then began to shout impatiently, and to appease them I proceeded with them to the plantain grove, at

the sight of which they were again in ecstasies, "tirpahing" and hallooing till their shouts and echoes through the woods drew down the Native Guard, who looked in their alarm tantalizingly disposed to fell them on the spot had we not interfered to protect them. We had not a knife to cut the bunches of plantains from the boughs, which were too thick for the strongest of us to break them; but Joe showed his ready ingenuity and the quick contrivance and inventiveness of his race by taking from the beach a small sharp pointed shell with which they brought down bough after bough of plantains. On our return to Chatham I remained to dine, and after Joe and Jacko had regaled themselves with food and became tired of sporting with the Natives, they came to me constantly, calling "mio," "mio," (Māia "Sir"—*M. V. P.*), which, as it is always used in addressing us, I suppose must mean "friend" or "protector," and begged me to take them back, not to their own houses but to their "boudla" (home) on Ross Island. (*Bud*-da "house"—*M. V. P.*). It was stormy and dark, and being strangers to the place, they were naturally alarmed at the delay, and came to me twining themselves round me for protection; in fact I could hardly rid myself of them during the interval of my meal; but having succeeded at last in explaining to them that after I had dined I would return with them to Ross, they laid down on a bench and wrapped themselves with my coat and razai, and slept soundly till I awoke them about 10 at night, and brought them back with me to this island.

On my return in the boat they both kept cuddling me and giving other demonstrations of affection: indeed, they all now do the same whenever I visit them, or bring them in our boats. I am almost crushed by the weight of their embraces, the most objectionable result being that when it is over, my face, hands, and clothes are suffused all over with daubs of the red mud with which they are painted, and which is so adhesive that the hardest washing and brushing will sometimes fail to remove them.

My next expedition to the mainland was on Monday the 22nd of June in the Superintendent's cutter with the Superintendent's crew, thirteen men of the Naval Brigade.

Colonel Tytler gave us a pig with some fruit and biscuits as a present to the aborigines.

We took over with us Joe, Jacko, Jingo, and the boy Sambo, who had long been suffering from fever and headache, which I treated, and afterwards Mr. Carthy, the apothecary, but both of us ineffectually.

We landed on North Point, where several women and children, who have since been over to Ross, came wading out to meet us.

We landed one by one very cautiously, the sailors with loaded and half-cocked muskets, and I and my servants with revolvers.

By this time Joe and the rest having seen me continually coming to the Andaman Home, and taking the general management, had conceived the idea that I was a chief, an idea which was probably strengthened by the fact of my height and size, and Joe intimating something of the kind to the women, they lavished the most gracious smiles on me, and came inquisitively surveying me, feeling my muscles and examining my hands, fingers, and nails; one of the women quite took possession of me for the rest of the day, throwing her arms round my neck, and frequently jumping on my shoulders to make me carry her over difficult passes on the road. The women soon tire in walking, and we all of us had at times to submit to be made beasts of burden to accelerate their progress.

(The Andamanese women can walk very well and far, and were only playing the fool with Mr. Corbyn and his party.—*M. V. P.*)

I carefully examined their coast, and found in the wood, a few paces from the shore, one of their huts, which was formed simply of two long circular canes stuck at each end into the ground and covered with slight palm thatching, open altogether at the front, and with only enough space inside for their fire, and three or four of them, closely packed together. The women and children, or invalids, generally take possession of the hut, warming themselves over the hot ashes.

They apparently take no pains to sweep or clean their camp, from which always arises offensive effluvia of decayed fish and accumulated filth, which would become even to them most unwholesome and in-

sufferable, but that shell fish crawling all over the camp performed the kindly office of scavengers.—(Hermit Crabs—*M. V. P.*)

About the camp in recesses of trees and thick bushes are deposited their acquired gains and treasures; they are most careful to conceal out of sight their weapons and all articles of value, none of which have been found by any of our party in our wanderings through the woods. I believe that they are all carried to a principal camp far into the interior, none of the beads or any of our gifts which they value having ever again been seen by us.

(The Andamanese had as usual hidden their goods when they saw the strangers coming, and the presents had long since been passed on from hand to hand about the islands.—*M. V. P.*)

We found near the camp small baskets with fish, small nets, nails, and bottles. They form on the shore artificial tanks filled with salt water, in which they place superfluous stocks of live fish, to serve them, I suppose, when hindered from fishing in rough weather. One of these was discovered by a native convict, who, supposing that the fish had been left there on the ebbing of the tide, immediately began to shoal them out, to the annoyance of the Andamanese, till I stopped him, and had them all picked up again and replaced in the water. (Mr. Corbyn has made some mistake in what he saw. No such custom exists among any of the Andamanese tribes.—*M. V. P.*)

I always gave strict injunctions, which are creditably observed by both sailors and natives, not to touch anything belonging to the Andamanese, nor to ask for bows and arrows and other implements which are necessary for their subsistence, so that nothing should occur to produce unfriendly feeling between us. On the occasion to which I refer I gave directions to Conner, the coxswain, to land some of the crew, and order the rest to keep a short distance out to sea, watching and following us as we went along the coast to the further camp of the aborigines, to which they beckoned us to proceed. As soon as we were safely landed, the pig, fruit, and biscuits were given to the savages, who ravenously seized upon them with the intention of at once carrying them to their further camp. The women at the sight of the pig yelled and clapped their hands, and forming a circle round

it enjoyed a wild and spontaneous *tírpah*, into which they threw themselves with unbounded glee and spirit; while the men seized the pig, one by the throat, another by the ears, another by the legs, and another by the tail, and looked around for an instrument for its destruction. Joe seeing my dagger asked the loan of it, and with one gash, through the throat and from bone to bone, instantaneously despatched his prey. They then cut some flexible branches of long creepers, and fastened first the two front and two hind legs, and then all four legs together; then with stronger creepers they made a bundle of the pig and, fastening to it a branch long enough to suspend round their shoulders, motioned to me to proceed. Joe, when he carried the pig, let the whole weight rest by a branch on his chest or neck, the women always on the forehead. We had a large party, but with Conner's able management the sailors were kept together, and the most perfect discipline maintained. When we came to their middle camp, consisting of two huts similar to the one described, they made preparations to cook the pig, taking out the entrails which they washed, and placed it without further preparation on a pile of logs on which they roasted it entire.

Before they arrived in this camp, they concealed in a bush the bag of biscuits and plantains which we had given them. We had difficulty in persuading them to go further. Joe and the girl Polly, who had so tenderly caressed me, and two or three other boys alone accompanied us, and we went on for about two miles along the shore, and then in our boats to the large bay on the ridge of which their chief exterior camp is situated. This place appears to be a rendezvous for many separate tribes who roam all over the mainland. On our arrival we saw only two or three of the inhabitants, who had been attracted by our shouts of "Mio," "Rogo" (meat), but more gradually emerging from all parts of the forest. A form of salutation which we have learnt from them was to take the hand and blow on it making the sound of a kiss, which they returned in the same manner—a salutation which they use to each other as well as to us, and which we conclude, therefore, to be a token of friendship and fidelity. (It simply means "farewell."—*M. V. P.*) One of them, a man, came limping from the

woods with a wooden staff which he held in his right hand; he glided up to me and put his knife into my hand, a rude weapon formed of iron hoop fastened to a piece of wood which was covered with notches or hieroglyphics. He had a sword gash, which was raw and bleeding, on his right foot. On Joe's speaking to him of me he asked for Snowball, and pointed to his feet, as if to intimate his wish that Snowball might be released.

An aged woman now came up, a fierce looking virago; she appeared idiotic, and talked loud and angrily, as if cursing. I made the usual saluation which she returned, but after doing so gnashed her teeth close to my hand, and then contemptuously flung it from her, as much as to signify that she had a good will to bite and tear me if she could. She exhibited the same animosity to other Europeans. I concluded that she was insane, and she may possibly have been rendered fierce by losing a son or other near relative in affrays with Europeans.

(Such cases are often seen. She did not approve of strangers, and her husband, child, or some relation had probably been killed or injured by us.—*M. V. P.*)

The other savages were extremely demonstrative in their friendship; most of them felt my limbs, and examined my hands and fingers, as if tracing the veins; they pointed with pleasure to a souvenir which I wore, given to me by Polly, a piece of her coral bracelet which she had fastened to my necktie. After joining in their dance we embraced them and returned, bringing with us a small axe and some bows and arrows which they offered us of their own accord; none of them showed an inclination to return with us, the pig which we had left behind being for the time the absorbing attraction.

On Thursday, the 25th, I again proceeded with a Native crew to North Point. Joe, Jacko, and Jingo were the first to swim out, and were soon followed by crowds of women and children. The confidence of the aborigines had been fully regained, and our only difficulty now was to accommodate the number that wished to be conveyed over. One of the stealthy urchins was no sooner in the boat, than he descried a

bag of coconuts, and before I could call to arrest his design, with the speed of magic he had dived with the bag into the water. He reappeared at the distance of some yards off, and turning his head wagged it at us, laughing at his own dexterity and the success of his cunning. We saw him shoving the bag before him, and with a few plunges more he reached the shore, and disappeared with it into the jungle. He seemed quite unconscious of any culpability in his conduct, or may have presumed on our ignorance or indulgence, for the next morning he appeared amongst a fresh party which we brought over to this island.

I contented myself with bringing on this occasion only a few of the younger children and women, one with an infant in arms. I was surprised to see this infant after satisfying itself from its mother's breast clamour to her to hold down her mouth, and try with its tiny arms resting on her necklace to raise its mouth to kiss, but its object was explained by the mother putting her lips down to her child's and giving it from her mouth some munched coconut which the child had watched her chewing. The other women occasionally gave it food and water in just the same way that birds impart nourishment to their young.

On the afternoon of the 25th of June I went over with Joe, Jingo, and Jacko, and three Andamanese boys, to one of the chief posts of the Settlement, called Haddo. Near this post is the plantain grove, our previous visit to which I have already described. Joe's and Jacko's agreeable reminiscences of that visit made them very desirous to repeat it. We went once more accordingly with Colonel Tytler's permission, and after supplying ourselves with a moderate quantity of plantains and sugar-cane, which the aborigines were allowed to cut themselves, a liberty which enhanced their value, we walked down to Haddo, where Mr. Jones, the Overseer, met us. As soon as the arrival of the Andamanese became known there, the whole of Haddo turned out—men, women and children, of the latter there was a large display, Haddo being the post for married natives. The Andamanese were all in their element, as they are naturally well disposed to women, and childishly fond of children. The natives swarmed to Mr. Jones'

ground and called upon the Andamanese to go through the usual performance of dancing, which Joe again applied to the useful purpose of clearing a crowd. His "whoop," "whoop," "whoop," and wild sonorous war shouts exciting exclamations of terror from the crowds of gaping spectators.

(The wrong sound is given, and the Andamanese have no *war* shout.—*M. V. P.*)

Their alarm was increased when I placed a bow and arrow in Joe's hands and pointed to a target on the rocks at which he was directed to aim. His arrow carried about 40 yards and just missed the mark. His aim, however, was not a deliberate one, for the target was only a pineapple, and he had no interest in fixing it. In the morning, while we were crossing over in the boat to Ross Island, he had taken a much more accurate aim at a bird flying near us and which he probably would have winged, had I not arrested his aim to appease the alarm of one of our party who feared the rocking of the boat might divert the shot to him. It was interesting to watch the intensity with which the eyes of this savage dilated, and his eager jubilant expression as he calculated his aim and its result, but on the present occasion the mark had not the same interest, nor was similar eagerness evinced. My object in inducing him to try the feat was to ascertain correctly the distance which the missile would carry. Mr. Jones next tried it, but was unable to strike with it beyond a few feet. It seems to require long practice and skill of touch to use the bow and arrow as the Andamanese can use them. After this performance, we examined some nets which were being made for the Settlement, and then went through the married village; the women were all eager to catch a glimpse of the aborigines, but in nervous dread of encountering them, which, when Joe observed, with his usual pleasantry, he took advantage of to chase and terrify them, as they ran in all directions, into their houses. The Andamanese wished to carry away with them some native children, making signs, by tender endearments, that they would treat them well and kindly.

Mr. Jones now brought some muskets and pistols and shewed the Andamanese their effects on birds and trunks of trees. They were alarmed

and ran to me for protection, hiding themselves behind me and supplicating my assistance. I allowed a few shots to be fired, which I hoped would produce a wholesome impression of our power and means of deadly destruction. Some elephants were next brought, at the sight of which the Andamanese were completely terrified, running away from them and climbing up trees and hiding behind rocks. The elephants were made to lift logs of wood and fling them across a road, at which the Andamanese shouted their astonishment; they were amazed and surprised to see the docility with which the huge elephant, King John, obeyed the order to roar, when its trunk was struck. Mr. Jones then brought the great animal on its haunches and mounted it; and Joe and Jacko were afterwards induced to do so also, but as soon as it again rested they quickly alighted with a roar of delight at being safely deposited. I can perceive, by the signs made by the other savages, that they have been describing to their tribes all these strange adventures, which it is to be hoped may have the effect of striking awe into them, and restraining them from molesting us.

Mr. Jones now observed to me that there was on the shore of a fresh water creek, opposite Chatham, a very unfriendly tribe of aborigines, and that he had seen a huge fire burning in their camp the night before. I had also seen it. Mr. Jones said that this tribe showed great hostility to us, and at different times had killed many convicts; that our people never approached their shore without being shot at. I at once proposed to take my Andamanese friends with presents of fruit and try the effect on the other tribe of friendly overtures. I accordingly proceeded with my armed party, and Mr. Jones in another boat also with an armed party. We rested on our oars about 100 yards from the shore, where the smoke of their fire could be seen. Three of the savages peeped from under the bush, but came no further. I threw out some fruit, which floated. Our Andamanese shouted to the others in their own language, holding up bunches of plantains, but to no purpose. After remaining there for about half an hour, and using every inducement we could by signs and gestures, we left; and I afterwards heard that on the following day the tribe struck their camp which had been there for many months, and have

abandoned the place altogether. We next went on to Chatham Island and visited the 5 H. P. Saw Mill. The noise of machinery and sight of volumes of smoke greatly frightened the aborigines. They looked curiously at the process of cutting wood, but could not be persuaded to go near the steam funnel, which they probably looked upon as some huge instrument of destruction.

I again visited North Point on Friday, the 26th June. Colonel Tytler kindly lent his boat and sent with me a crew of the Naval Brigade. Joe accompanied us as guide, and we took to the savages the usual presents of fruits, yams, and biscuits. Only three women could be seen on the North Point, one of them being the ferocious old woman who has been described as evincing towards us cannibal propensities. She came out to meet us, and to our surprise seated herself in the boat and made signs to take her to Ross Island. I directed Conner to steer further northward, and we landed at Middle Camp, where no aborigines were visible. Three sailors were left with strict orders not to allow Joe and the old woman, whom they called "Mamma," to escape from the boat; neither of them, however, during the long interval of our absence, showed a disposition to do so. We walked along the shore to the chief coast camp, where we met some aborigines, an old man supposed to be the husband of "Mamma," the man known as Crusoe, who was formerly taken as a hostage to Moulmein, and a few others. After a short stay there, during which no incident of interest happened, we returned and they voluntarily accompanied us. We found on our return to our boat another Andamanese, whom I had not seen before, who had been attracted by Joe's shouts of "Mio," "Rogo." Immediately that we embarked the old man and Crusoe made an attempt to seize our bags of provisions, and were preparing to spring with them into the water, when I seized both of them with a strong grip by their necks and held them down. The old woman, taking advantage of the scuffle, and the confusion of the sailors in a strong surf driving us on the beach, jumped into the water with a bunch of plantains, but Conner at my orders brought her forcibly back again much to her disgust. (Mr. Corbyn showed great tact and discretion in his actions with them. In thus firmly restrain-

ing them, without showing resentment or punishing them, he did exactly right.—*M. V. P.*)

On the arrival of these eight new comers on Ross Island occurred the scene which I have already described of the peaceful assemblage of 28 of the aborigines at the Andaman Home. During the day a pig was given to them by Colonel Tytler, which it was intended they should share; but the new party, who belonged, it would seem, to a separate tribe, and who occupied, while they were here, a separate hut in the Andaman Home, appropriated the pig, and none of the others disputed their claim, but quietly looked on at their preparations for the repast from an opposite *machan*. I invited all to share the feast, but Snowball and Jumbo's party resolutely held aloof. Jingo at my order killed the pig, but immediately that he had done so left it to the new comers, who, as subsequent circumstances convinced me belonged to a more powerful and superior tribe. (They belonged to another Sept of the same Tribe.—*M. V. P.*) I also noticed that the wailing that had hitherto always taken place between the prisoners and new aborigines visiting them was not attempted on the arrival of the last batch of savages; indeed there hardly passed between them the common signs of recognition. Snowball, Jumbo, and Topsy withdrew to a distance, as if purposely to avoid them, and the old woman, as soon as she entered their hut, stationed herself behind a post, and looked stealthily and suspiciously both at us and our guests, the other aborigines. The day's festivities and the perfect security they enjoyed appeared to have a mollifying effect on all, especially on the old woman whom Colonel and Mrs. Tytler were surprised to find, after my description, so timid and docile. All the party except Topsy and Jingo, who refused to leave the island, were despatched in a boat the same evening and safely landed at North Point. I should mention that one Andamanese among the last batch was identified as the man who, some months ago, on the mainland, had gashed the hand of a convict named David, for his (David's) refusal to yield up his umbrella. David, when he saw him here, went up to him and patted him on his cheek, while he was in full enjoyment of his feast; but the savage did not recognise him or pretended not

to recognise him. As soon as Crusoe and his party had left the compound, all who remained behind with Snowball and Jumbo rushed to the place where the others had been feasting and ravenously gathered up and devoured the remnants of the pig left. The man Crusoe has a gap in his front row of teeth, two of them having been knocked out, for some real or supposed provocation, by a sailor who had charge of him on the voyage from Moulmein!.

I brought back from my visit to the chief camp on the 26th a painted human skull ornamented with beads, and many tortoise-shells of a rare species which were found lying in or near the aboriginal huts. They showed reluctance to part with the human skull, probably of a chief, and tried to recover it, but being required by Colonel Tytler to be sent to the Ethnological Society, for scientific purposes, I persuaded them to let me retain it. The next morning, Saturday, the 27th ultimo, I took over to North Point Topsy and Jingo, determined to let the aborigines see that none of them, except Snowball and Jumbo, were detained here against their will. Mr. Kitton, the Second Officer of the *Lady Canning*, Mr. Green, merchant, and some other Europeans, with a Native crew composed our party. Most of us landed. Jingo being ill was at once taken to the hut where he threw himself down near the fire. Topsy went to paint herself; all the other aborigines sat laughing and talking without the least symptom of distrust or alarm at our presence. With an axe and knives we cut a pathway up the hill. We had with us an Abyssinian, a stoker of the steamer *Lady Canning*, as black as the aborigines, with whom he at once fraternised; he was very useful to us in clearing the brushwood and directing our way through the jungle.

On the top of North Point Hill we came to table land, which the Abyssinian, who climbed up a tree on the hill, described as being a mile in length. It was covered with most luxuriant vegetation and trees of huge growth and size. A more commanding position to protect this Settlement cannot be imagined, nor is there in the whole harbour a more useful and important point. At present we do not hold a single point on the whole line of coast, from North Point up-

wards, which to the very skirt of the sea is covered with dense jungle, in which treacherous savages may conceal themselves, and small boats belonging to the Settlement driven, as may often happen, by stress of weather, on those rocks, are at the mercy of an ignorant and barbarous race, who may or may not continue friendly to us. There is good reason, from what we have seen, to believe that while we retain hostages they will abstain from acts of cruelty and bloodshed, but there is equal reason to suppose that if any of our people were by some accident to be thrown on their coast they would retaliate, and by a forced captivity of Natives or Europeans compel the surrender of the prisoners whom we have captured.

A gun of large calibre on the hill of North Point would command the whole harbour, and the very sound of it and the knowledge of its proximity would terrify the savages for miles around, and keep them in quiet submission or drive them into distant recesses. There is every probability that they will now gradually be brought to cultivate a friendly intercourse with us, and this might be greatly promoted by having a Settlement near them and not divided by the sea, to which they could resort with such articles of food as they procure in plenty, to exchange for other merchandise. We yet know little of their habits, but their sleek and full-bodied appearance testifies that, whatever their food, they have it in abundance. As to apprehensions of attacks on a Settlement at North Point, I believe they are utterly visionary. The savages have conceived such an exaggerated estimate of our capabilities of destruction, that twenty armed Natives or Europeans would put to instant flight a thousand of them, even assuming that they were not deterred from attacking us by fear of the wide-spread havoc we could carry into their homes, the slaughter of their wives and children !. I can understand that they might be tempted to prowl about our posts for plunder, but the first shot fired would drive them in wild terror into their jungles.

They imagine that we have infinite appliances of destruction. Colonel Tytler showed them one day a small pocket revolver with which he fired six bullets into a tree, and I felt some of them quake

with fear when they saw the dangerous and destructive effect of the tiny instrument.

They believe that I can kill them with a pistol-cap; and if I point one at them, they implore me to desist, or at once jump out of the way in dread of what they suppose to be a deadly missile.

On our return to our boat we found Topsy and Bess and other Andamanese women and children seated there. I tried to remove Topsy, but she resolutely kept her seat, even struggling not to be left behind; so we yielded to her wish, and indeed were only too glad to bring her back again. She laughed at her desire to baffle us in getting herself painted at their hut, for she and the other savages are no longer allowed to paint and tattoo themselves on Ross Island. Colonel Tytler very properly considering this a degrading and barbarous practice, has prohibited it.

(He was wrong. At that period their customs should not have been interfered with; and the painting is a substitute for clothing, to leave off which exposes them to chills.—*M. V. P.*)

I have yet to describe our last expedition to the mainland. Last Monday morning, the 29th of June, three boats sailed from Ross for the mainland, carrying the Superintendent's crew of 13 armed Naval Brigadesmen, 12 Sappers and Miners, and many other Europeans and Natives. Colonel Tytler entrusted the conduct of the proceedings to me.

A pig and presents of plantains and biscuits were taken for the savages. As the cutter passed North Point the aborigines came running to the shore to meet us; but seeing that our course lay northward, they followed us along the coast in the direction of their chief camp.

Our cutter sailed far ahead of the other two boats which were rowed by Natives. We arrived about half an hour before them at the camp, where we landed. The place seemed quite deserted, not even a single Andamanese, as we have usually found, keeping watch to give notice of our approach. One by one, however, the fastest runners who had been following us along the rocks, came up to the chief camp, and before the sepoys had landed there were about thirty

savages scattered over the beach. We all breakfasted hastily, and while we were doing so the Andamanese crowded round us, looking wistfully at our food, and by stealth or entreaty getting what they could; so importunate did they become, that I was obliged to place Sepoys round me to guard my food. At the sight of some broiled bacon put before me they gave a tumultuous yell, and all danced shouting and waving their arms in a circle round me. The sailors and others most liberally distributed their food; in fact the poor men went almost without their meals through the rapacity of the savages; the latter might be seen running like a pack of hungry dogs from one group to another wherever most food tempted them. One of the sailors lent my pruning knife to a savage who begged the loan of it for some purpose; and as soon as the sailor had turned his attention to some other matter went off and concealed it. On being asked for it, he at first pretended to have lost it, but seeing our firm determination to recover it, he took us to a tree and disinterred it from the trunk. We now proceeded on our journey into the interior, our object being to discover their chief inland camp. I gave directions to Conner to leave two sailors in the cutter with strict orders to remain there, and to keep their own and the other two boats at some distance from the shore. I also directed two other sailors and two Sepoys to remain on the beach in charge of the muskets of the other ten Sappers and Miners, who might, in the event of a disturbance require their muskets, but could not conveniently carry them, as they were marching through the jungle felling wood with their axes. I ordered the two sailors left on the beach to fire a pistol, the report of which would warn us in case of any untoward occurrence. I impressed strongly on all the party who accompanied me the necessity of keeping close together, with a watchful eye on all sides of the jungle. I also directed our party to take each an Andamanese by the hand, and to take the utmost care that none of them escaped even if we were attacked, as they would be useful as hostages and ensure our safety. We made the Andamanese carry the pig and plantains, which we promised them as a reward at the end of the journey. We carried with us a bag of biscuits, from which we kept feeding them

all along the road; and when we had proceeded about three miles, to avoid irritating them, we relieved them of their weights of plantains and the pig, which we made our servants carry. We followed their inland road; two sailors with half-cocked muskets going on in front and the Sappers and Miners following them cutting so vigorously, that a really good road was formed through the narrowest part of which four or five could march abreast. One of the savages caused me much annoyance; he was under charge of Mr. Kitton, who found much difficulty in managing him and preventing his escape, that I took him under my care, and holding him tightly by the hand made him walk along with me. The aboriginal road brought us to a stream about fifteen yards wide, which I suppose is dry in all but rainy weather. The aborigines wished us to take a southerly direction, pointing to their camp; but suspecting that they might be wishing to mislead, I preferred to follow the course of the stream which I intended, if possible, to trace to its source. This was discovered about four miles in the interior, the water, gushing from a hill above, which we determined to ascend. As we walked through the stream, the Andamanese with me stopped to lift rocks in the water, and as my curiosity was excited by the eager way in which he did so I called natives to assist him, and to our surprise he pulled out from under the rocks large fresh water prawns, which he eat just as they were entire. This man, about a mile from the top of the hill, suddenly snatched his hand out of mine, with a force which almost flung me on the ground, and plunged into the woods, shouting loudly as he went. Some of our party chased him, but I immediately gave the alarm and summoned all together, cautioning all to hold in a firmer grasp the other hostages. The man who had escaped had a most revolting cast of countenance, every type of villainy stamped on his face, and it was quite possible that he might be up to mischief. I declared my intention to seize him if I again saw him. I then took Jacko, who was just behind me, by the hand and explained to him that if any of us were shot at he should suffer instant death. We soon after reached the top of the hill from which we caught a glimpse of the ocean. An effort was made to climb one of the highest

trees, but it failed for want of proper ropes and ladders. We marched that day through the jungles at least five miles, and formed a road of that length, which I should think will greatly astonish the savages. Each side of it was left densely covered with the boughs of trees and brushwood which had been cut down in our march. With such laborious manual exertions, and the fatigue attending them, it was clearly impossible to make any observations as to the character of the country and products; but we have at least rendered facilities for others who may follow us, and it is something to say that we have been five miles into the interior of these jungles into which no European perhaps penetrated as many yards before. We left our mark on a tree on the top of the hill. On returning, we met the savage who had escaped, and taking him by the hand I quietly brought him back to the camp again, and took no other notice of his conduct.

As we were returning, about a mile from the camp, a sailor with his musket on his shoulder was going first and I was next to him, when in an instant a savage sprang from behind a tree with a loud yell and seized the sailor by the neck; then threw his arms round him clasping him firmly musket and all, and looking him in the face gave a loud laugh as much as to say "what a fright I have given you; "you see how we savages can spring on an enemy from the bush." The poor sailor was taken quite aghast, but quickly re-assured when he saw it was playful Joe, with whose pranks they are all familiar.

(This is the first recorded ascent of Mount Harriett.—*M. V. P.*)

Numbers of the aborigines, apparently of different tribes, joined us from all parts of the jungle on our way back. We could even see them on the tops of trees watching our movements. They seemed quite re-assured at seeing us come back peaceably without doing them any injury.

I have now, however, to turn to a more unfavourable aspect of the day's business. When we brought back the pig I gave my dagger to Joe and told him to cut the pig in two, keeping half for his tribe and giving the rest to the other tribe dwelling at the chief camp. Joe took the dagger and began to cut the pig. I walked to the sea

to brush off the leeches with which my legs were covered. On my return Joe had given up the pig to Crusoe who was roasting it over a fire. Joe himself was seated on a trunk of a tree watching the proceedings. When I asked for my dagger he pretended not to remember where he had placed it; then made other excuses that some one else had taken it; then pretended that he had concealed it, and would bring it back, and wished to go and look for it in the jungle. The other savages came to intercede and make excuses. I held Joe firmly and demanded instant restitution of my property. It was not that I in the least valued my dagger, for I would give much to preserve a good understanding with the aborigines; but having witnessed their grasping disposition in the morning, and feeling that it was incompatible with the maintenance of a friendly intercourse, that Natives especially would never in their relations with these savages tolerate such barbarous infringement of their rights, I determined to check it at the outset, and therefore to make an example of Joe, if the dagger was not produced. The savages seeing my resolution and the change which had come over the scene, as both Europeans and Natives had orders to make preparations to embark if the dagger was not soon given up, began gradually to disperse till only Crusoe and one or two others of the less timid ones were left on the beach. I told the Sepoys and Natives that there was likely to be a disturbance with the aborigines and ordered them to embark, an order which they obeyed with alacrity. I then ordered the sailors into the cutter, and just as all the boats were ready to start, with another European I seized Joe, and forcibly putting him into the boat shoved out and all set off together. We also carried away the pig and all the plantains. Not a single shot had been fired the whole day either in jest or earnest, and there was nothing but this unhappy affair to mar the pleasure of the excursion. Joe wanted us to go near North Point assuring us that the dagger would be given up there. We did so. At least a hundred savages must have been at the Point; they offered us bows and arrows which we refused, and then they made signs that they would bring the dagger. We returned to Ross and reported all the circumstances to Colonel Tytler. Joe was placed during the night between

two natives as a guard in a separate hut in the Andaman Home, but not before he had time to explain to all the other aborigines there what had happened. Topsy assured me that if I took her over in the morning she would bring the dagger. I, therefore, did so; but as the savages, instead of the dagger, brought only bows and arrows, I left Topsy and returned. I felt confident that the dagger would be given up, but it seemed an admirable opportunity to teach Joe and the others a lesson in equity and moral justice for their future good behaviour. He was, therefore, by Colonel Tytler's orders put into fetters; but as he tried, either in play or earnest, to strike the carpenter who was fastening them, his hands were also tied behind him, but this part of the punishment was remitted about an hour after. About noon, I again went for Topsy. There were now very few to be seen on the beach, but through a telescope we could see Jacko flourishing my dagger; when we approached nearer he swam out and delivered it up to me, and then "Topsy" and other women and children came into the boat and returned with us to Ross Island. I kept them all with me on the shore till I had sent for the ironsmith, who accompanied me to the Andaman Home and struck off the fetters from Joe before them all, while I held the dagger before Joe to show him that his purloining had been the cause of his imprisonment, and that the restitution of it now was the cause of his release. The good results of this firm treatment of the aborigines has already become apparent.

I have been to North Point, and amongst the Andamanese, since the occurrences above related, and the good understanding with them which was temporarily suspended, is quite restored.

(Mr. Corbyn's conduct in the above affair of the dagger was perfectly correct.—*M. V. P.*)

On this narrative the Government of India remark that they have read it with great interest, and will be glad to hear from time to time reports of the further progress, made by the meritorious exertions of the Reverend Mr. Corbyn, towards establishing friendly relations with the Andamanese, and obtaining any real and reliable information as

to their numbers, and as to the existence of any chief or chiefs by whom authority is exercised among them.

Great caution was, however, to be observed in sending exploring expeditions into the interior. The expedition, as related by Mr Corbyn, seems to have subjected a small and comparatively helpless party to the risk of being attacked by an overwhelming number of natives, and the arrangements made for the protection of the arms left on the beach were of questionable sufficiency had any attack on the guard been made.

An allowance of one hundred rupees per mensem was sanctioned for the Andaman Home. A ticket-of-leave convict named J. Peterson was in charge of this Home under Mr. Corbyn, and seems to have gained the affection of the Andamanese, and to have done good work.

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CHAPTER XI.

Narrative No. 2, by Mr. Corbyn, with notes—His expeditions into the interior with the Andamanese, and his gradual taming of them—Naval Brigadesmen in trouble at Chiriya Ṭápu—Children taught—Habits of the Andamanese—Stories of Andamanese kidnapped, etc.—Sir Robert Napier's visit to the Andamans.

THE release of Joe inspired the other two captives, Jumbo and Snowball, with hopes of liberation for which they now renewed their entreaties.

Last Saturday (the 4th July, 1863), an untoward circumstance again made it necessary for me to visit the mainland. Two escaped convicts were brought to Ross, who had been ill-treated and shot at by the aborigines, and one of them so badly wounded that no hope was entertained of his recovery. Soon after the death of Pratt, a man of the Naval Brigade who had been killed by the aborigines, acts of cruel hostility to the Settlement on the part of the latter were of almost daily occurrence. (This seems to be an exaggeration; no such acts are mentioned in Colonel Tytler's reports—*M. V. P.*); but since the imprisonment of Snowball and Jumbo, and the friendly visits of the tribe, they had almost or altogether ceased. It, therefore, caused much surprise when the two convicts Nahser and Davy appeared here, one with bruises and a slight wound in the right side and the other with a severe and almost mortal wound in the head, alleged to have been made by arrows shot at them by Andamanese supposed to be on friendly terms with us. Their account was that they had escaped from Aberdeen and gone on by Haddo beyond Viper, whence they floated on a raft to the opposite coast, and walked round North Point to a place, which, by their description, must have been Chief Camp, where they met many of the aborigines. They said that the savages at North Point had forcibly deprived them of their food, and others at Chief Camp had seized a brass vessel from one of them; that on Tuesday, the 30th of June, which was the very day after our visit to Chief Camp, and the same day on which the

dagger was delivered up, some of the savages, after completely denuding them, wantonly and deliberately shot at them; that their imploring gestures and frantic supplications to them to desist had no effect in curbing their relentless barbarity; and that the Andamanese women looked on unmoved, or with savage delight, at the cruelties practised upon them.

On receiving these accounts the Superintendent considered it necessary to make the Andamanese in our possession (!) understand that such acts of inhumanity would no longer be tolerated; and as I had before succeeded in imparting a clear impression to their minds, which led to the recovery of my dagger, he desired me now to make them distinctly understand that the repetition of these cruelties would provoke summary retribution; that the lives of Natives belonging to this Settlement were to be as much respected as the lives of Europeans; and that we were determined to protest them.

(The men were convicts and had no business to run away. Though the savages carried their treatment of them too far, it was a mistake to avenge the ill-treatment of these men with the same severity as if they had been free Europeans of the Settlement. For disciplinary reasons it was preferable for the convicts to imagine that the aborigines would always ill-treat and murder them, as it would check their escapes—*M. V. P.*)

There was but one way of making the idea intelligible to their minds, and that method I adopted. I sent for Jumbo and his wife Topsy, and for Joe and Jacko. I took them towards the Native hospital. I had a bow and arrow in my hand and also an unloaded pistol. The Native who was slightly wounded was with me. About halfway to the hospital from a hill we could see North Point and Chief Camp. I called their attention to the wound on the body of the Native, showed them with the bow and arrow how it had been inflicted, and then pointed to their camp, telling them as well as I could in disconnected words of their language that he had been wounded by their tribe. I then pointed the pistol by turns at Jumbo, Joe, and Jacko, still making signs to them that their clan had shot the Native,

and by my angry and menacing gestures making them quake with the horrible fear that their lives were in instant peril. Topsy made frantic gestures, which I understood to imply that her tribe was not at fault, that it was another tribe, pointing southward, and when the Native indicated that it had been done at Chief Camp, she still, assenting to what he said, resolutely pointed southwards, as much as to say that it had been done beyond North Point, but by one of the aborigines belonging to the Southern Tribe. She also made unmistakable signs, which were interpreted in that view by other persons present, that if we would send her over, she would bring to us the man who had shot the Native, and pointing to Jumbo's chains made us understand that we could then put him in irons. At the hospital, I showed them the man who had been so severely wounded, exhibiting his wound, and again going through the pantomime described, which I did with much reluctance, as Jumbo was so agitated with fear that he could hardly stand, and Topsy covered him with her body to shield him from harm; but it was a case on which human life depended and which demanded extreme actions, and I felt that it was better to cause momentary terror to these reckless and ruthless savages than any longer to allow the lives of unoffending persons to be exposed to their cruel caprices and brutal love of butchery.

By Colonel Tytler's order Topsy was taken to North Point the same afternoon, after I made her understand that she was expressly sent to detect and bring back the perpetrators of the crime. With the utmost confidence in her sagacity, intelligence, and good and friendly disposition, I confess that I entertained no hope of her redeeming her promise, which was unnatural to expect, nor that anything could prompt her to such treachery but the superior motive of devotion to her husband and alarm for his safety.

The arrival next day of the steamer *Arracan* with despatches from Government completely changed the programme of proceedings and compelled the adoption of a different line of action with regard to the aborigines. Colonel Tytler having received orders from Government to liberate Snowball, desired me on Monday, the 5th, to

take across and land him on the mainland, giving him on his arrival there some small presents, and to his tribe two pigs and other provisions to celebrate his release. We accordingly sailed across about noon and approached the coast directly opposite Middle Camp. On our way to it we passed North Point, where smoke issued from the jungle, and two Andamanese were seen, but held timidly aloof from us. As we entered the bay opposite their camp, some of them responded to our calls and signalled to us to land, while the Andamanese in the boat held up fruit and invited them to swim to us. We could see crowds of aborigines assembled under cover of thick bushes on the beach; they had apparently come down in large masses, as if expecting some hostile demonstration, and most of them silently watched us at a secure distance, and acted as they always do when uncertain of our temper and suspicious of our designs. They were divided into two large bodies separated by a thick clump of trees, those on the left or south side were chiefly full grown and athletic men headed by Crusoe, and the others on the right, apparently a reserve guard, protecting the women and children who were squatted in dense masses under newly-made huts, which on subsequent inspection were found to form the largest collective camp which we have yet seen on the coast. Before starting I had directed the coxswain to keep out our cutter at a greater distance than usual from the shore, as I had anticipated some such scene as we now witnessed betokening distrust and alarm on the part of the savages, in consequence of the intimations of our displeasure, and the warnings which I had expected and intended should be conveyed to them by Topsy. Topsy herself was amongst the crowd, but held back, or was probably kept back by the rest, in apprehension of some disaster. As our mission was of a peaceful and friendly character, and a demonstration of displeasure could no longer be maintained consistently with the object in view, which was to celebrate with suitable rejoicing the release of their Chief, Snowball, we did our utmost to allay their alarm by exhibiting gifts and making the usual signs of kind intentions and a friendly disposition towards them. As a measure of caution, however, before distributing the presents, I called to them

to swim out to us with bows and arrows, a large number of which were collected, and would have been delivered to the Superintendent as property of Government had they not been appropriated by the sailors before I had time to secure them, as soon as we returned to Ross Island.

(The Naval Brigadesmen seem to have been very undisciplined, and were as usual troublesome and disorderly—*M. V. P.*)

The squeaking of the pigs which the sailors held up served as the best bait of all to attract the savages. They shouted and danced wildly, and unable to resist the spell plunged through the surf and soon surrounded the boat, throwing in their bows and arrows, and calling "Mio," "Rogo," and as soon as they were in the boat seized the pigs and gloated savagely over them.

To our surprise the news of Snowball's release and his presence in the boat excited no general sensation. One of the Andamanese, a man of some age, whom I had not seen before, hugged and wailed over him, but there was not on this as on previous occasions a chorus of noisy weepers: even the solitary mourner, as soon as his sorrow was quenched, appeared to forget all about it, and wiping away the semblance of tears, pounced greedily upon a bag of biscuits, in the process of lightening which he shewed an appetite truly prodigious, and which had apparently not suffered from recent emotion.

(Mr. Corbyn does not seem to have understood that there was no question of grief, but that the Andamanese cry when meeting after a long separation, from joy. Further, as Snowball had been absent for long, and under serious circumstances, it was not etiquette for the general body of the Andamanese to cry over him until eome hours after his arrival, the crying when once started probably lasting all night.—*M. V. P.*).

Though Snowball's return produced no great sensation, a few of them showed great tenderness in the care with which they treated him, nursing him in their arms and on their laps, and pinching and pressing his side to ease the pain from which he was suffering. To make certain of his release, they were preparing to stealthily remove

and carry him from the boat, but I intercepted their plans as soon as I observed them by taking hold of Snowball and keeping him securely till I could land him and give him up myself, without yielding to force or stratagem. After making ineffectual attempts to reach the shore at Middle Camp, which we were unable to do on account of the heavy surf, which would have drenched our clothes and fire-arms, we steered towards North Point, intending to land at a temporary camp which they had formed there, and made signs to them to follow us.

All the aborigines whom we had brought from Ross had already swum ashore, but we had now about twelve others in the boat, some of whom, as soon as our anchor was weighed, jumped over, and the rest in their suspicion were almost inclined to do so, but remained probably interested in Snowball's fate, and probably also in the pigs and provisions. The crowds on shore at first refused to follow, and sat sullenly on the beach, as before, watching our movements with suspicion. But the squeaking of the pigs again proved irresistible, and before we had turned North Point the whole coast was crowded, and on landing we were surrounded by men, women, and children, all clamouring for the food we brought them, and so eager to get it that it required the utmost vigilance and firmness of the guard to prevent their snatching away the bags before they were even landed.

Snowball's friends were allowed to carry him on shore, and they immediately deposited him in one of their huts, close to a smouldering fire, where a few of them remained rubbing his sides and tending him with much care and kindness. He had been suffering for some days from a low fever common to the aborigines, and on the previous day had been attended by the Civil Surgeon, who administered an emetic, and afterwards some quinine mixture, which had a favourable effect; and we hoped that his release and return to his friends, and the application of remedies used by his people, and to which he was accustomed, would speedily restore his health. The young shoots of the mangrove, which are bitter, are said to possess tonic properties, and it is supposed that the aborigines use them when suffering from fever or other debilitating diseases. (They do not use them.—*M. V. P.*)

The food which we brought absorbed their attention to the exclusion of Snowball and every other object. Two goats which had died from natural causes, and which the aborigines in the Home refused to eat, had been brought, and were devoured. As a matter of economy, it is desirable that the Andamanese by eating them should relieve the Settlement of defunct cattle and other refuse commodities.

(They are usually very particular about eating such things.—*M. V. P.*)

It was a satisfactory sign of the confidence of this tribe in our clemency and good faith that Snowball was not immediately carried to a place of concealment, but allowed to remain in the hut in which they had placed him during the hour or two that we were on shore watching their proceedings, and that on the following day, when we visited them at Chief Camp, he was again there, and no disposition was shewn to conceal him from us, or to remove him when we landed.

The Andamanese mode of killing pigs has been so often described that it is needless to repeat the description here. It is enough to say that, as we refused to lend them knives, they used a piece of sharpened bamboo, and made the incision on the right side of the throat, and not as they usually do through the heart first by a slit with a piece of glass across the skin, and then a deep thrust into the vital part with a sharp pointed prong of bamboo.

While the feast was proceeding a canoe was seen approaching, and soon four aborigines came up with bows and arrows, which they readily gave up to the sailors. They seemed to be of another tribe, of somewhat different form and features, and their chief, a man of fine appearance, sturdy and erect, and taller than all the others. Topsy pointed to him, and made signs to me to bring him to Ross Island, which I understood to mean that he was the person who had been guilty of the offence, for which we sent her to warn the aborigines, of shooting at the escaped convicts, but I was unwilling to take advantage of that occasion for his forcible arrest, by which I should again have awakened their alarm and suspicion, and especially under such doubtful conjectures of his guilt, as it seemed quite possible

that Topsy might wish to make him an innocent victim to screen the real offender. I hoped, too, that even if her information proved correct, some other more favourable opportunity would occur to detect and apprehend him. I, therefore, merely directed the sailors to endeavour to coax him to go with us, not pointedly, nor singly, but in company with others; and with a view to make an agreeable impression on the chief of a new tribe, I showed him many marks of civility and kindness. I dissuaded the sailors from going to examine their canoe, in order to avoid everything that might excite their apprehension. The aborigines might be induced to come to the Settlement in their canoes if they felt that these were safe, and that none of their property would be molested, but so many canoes have been taken from them in former times, that they are now afraid to shew them, and draw them up creeks, and hide them in the jungles when they see us coming, and while these fears last our visits must always occasion them inconvenience and anxiety.

I consider it a curious circumstance that in all our experience of these people we have not observed a single instance of bickering or disputing between them. I have never heard a cross word from one Andamanese to another, nor seen a movement of the countenance which would indicate anger or displeasure of one towards another. If one asks anything of another it is at once yielded, either as if there was an understood reason for the request, or that it was backed by force of acknowledged and indisputable authority. Whatever their form of government and the internal economy of their arrangements there is a most perfect subordination of all to some head or controlling power, and an order prevails which can be the result only of a system of prescribed rules, and which shows that they are not wanting in method and organization.

(The system is a real communism, and the governing power is the general fear of the resentment of the other, which would lead him to commit murder.—*M. V. P.*)

The Andamanese, Crusoe, is always the most busy and energetic, and, if possible, the most grasping. He prepared the repast, saw to the cleaning and cooking of the pigs and goats, and appropriated the

largest share of choicest pieces. He has a harsh but stentorian voice, which he exerts to its full force when excited; he shows excitement by striking his back (?) with his clenched hand, waving his arm over his head, and by other violent gestures. Many of the Andamanese have a habit of striking their breasts with great force under emotions of pain or pleasure. (It is a gesture of surprise.—*M. V. P.*)

They carried away the pig's entrails, and also the rice and biscuits, in bundles of leaves fastened with creepers. Some of them remained that night at North Point, as we could see by their fires, and no doubt enjoyed a grand repast and entertainment. When we were preparing to return, some of them showed an inclination to accompany us, but did not eventually do so, preferring as we supposed the feast which we had provided for them at their own encampment. We have seen enough of them now to know that when we wish them to return with us it is advisable to go to them without provisions, for we must admit the unflattering fact that it is not any particular love of us, but chiefly the greed of food which tempts them to the Settlement.

On Wednesday, the 10th instant, I again went with some officers of Her Majesty's Steamer *Arracan* to visit the aborigines at Middle Camp. There was a large concourse of men and boys on the beach, and in a recess in the jungle, at a short distance from the shore, a number of newly made huts, under each of which were huddled together some eight or ten members of a family. Most of them were covered all over with daubs of red paint, varied with white patches. I wished to obtain some of this paint, but they either did not understand me, or were unwilling to let me see the ingredients from which they formed it. One of the officers afterwards told me that he saw a lump of a hard substance from which it was made that looked like gum. The paint is most probably obtained from the bark of some tree; it is very sticky, and seems to be mixed with pig's grease, and cleaves so firmly to the skin that it is difficult to wash it off even while moist.

(The hard substance was a lump of resin, used for making torches, and not for making paint. The latter is not obtained from

a tree, but is a burnt earth, mixed with pig's fat, or turtle oil.—*M. V. P.*)

There was a great number of old people, male and female, in the camp and five or six babies, the youngest could not have been more than four or five days born. The aborigines have a pathway into the interior, but the thorny bushes, through which only these nimble islanders can twine their way, rendered it difficult for us to proceed far along it. It would be interesting to trace it at a future time with a party of Native Sappers. In each hut we saw a lot of pigs skulls suspended to the roof by twine, which seemed, from the value which they attached to them, to have been hung up there as trophies. (They were.—*M. V. P.*) The fact that we found there no other skulls, but those of turtles and human skulls, confirms the supposition that there are no esculent mammalia, except pigs, in their jungles.

They were ready to eat anything, for we brought in our boat a basket of dead ducks which they had not noticed at first, and which when found they took away with great delight.

I had an opportunity of seeing the good effect of the admonition given to Joe on the rest of his tribe. One of them, who was a stranger to me, was watching his opportunity to appropriate a penknife which I had lent him, when another, guessing his intention, whispered some words in his ear, and without my giving the slightest hint that I wanted my knife back again, he at once closed the blade and handed it over to me.

I was glad to see signs of improvement in their manner towards us, and of a more friendly disposition in the spontaneous readiness with which they helped us to land, carrying us through the surf on their backs, and also any bundles or other weights which we chose to entrust to them. They also bring through the jungles without demur any loads which we put upon them, carrying them for us safely, and break and remove the branches which lie in our way, and most carefully pluck off the thorns and brambles, which sometimes stick to us, and which are so sharp that only their hard and nimble fingers can safely grasp them.

In my former report I remarked on the sleek and robust ap-

pearance of many of the Andamanese; but we have since met with others who are not so well fed and thriving. Some indeed are painfully emaciated in appearance. Hunger sharpens their rapacity, and the sight of food makes them almost ferocious in their eagerness to obtain it, and may often have stimulated them to deeds of plunder and cruel violence. It is still a debated question whether the natives of these islands are cannibals. It is, of course, impossible to argue from the presence of human skulls near their dwellings, since these may be merely valued relics of their own deceased kinsmen, except that some are as large as the skulls of ordinary human beings, and too large to be in proportion to their diminutive bodies; but still skulls and other remains of deceased persons of another race, possibly trophies of slaughtered enemies, may be found about their encampments without establishing the fact of their cannibalism. What lends, however, most strength to the supposition, is the fact of the great strait to which in certain seasons, or at some antecedent period, they may have been reduced by hunger, and thus a relish has been acquired which might engender the horrible practice. The love of raw flesh (?) is another presumption in favour of the supposition. Their object in singeing a pig, for it cannnot be called roasting, seems not to be to cook it, but to warm the skin and render it soft, so as the more easily to scrape off all the bristle, which they do with a sharpened bamboo, turning it from side to side and scraping as it singes. Their cooking of the goats occupied only one or two minutes, and it would probably have been dispensed with altogether had I not pointed to the fire and suggested the advantage of a little roasting. We gave them a bag of condemned biscuits which had been thoroughly soaked with salt water, and so long lying in the Commissariat store-rooms that they had formed into lumps which were mildewed and filled with maggots. The savages pryed into the bag, and when they saw its contents, wished to carry it away forcibly; and when we afterwards emptied it, there was a general scramble, and hands, and leaves, and baskets were all brought into requisition to gather up the last soiled morsels. (The pig and goats would be afterwards boiled, before being eaten.—*M. V. P.*).

The Andamanese set great value on all rope and net-work. Beads which are only ornamental, are not so much cared for. The bunches of beads which were given to Snowball I afterwards saw adorning Jacko's person, fastened round his waist and forming a belt which he had plastered all over with red paint, so that none of the original colours of the beads could be distinguished. Some of the women had pieces of white muslin tied round their heads; they must have had them some time in their possession, for they never to my knowledge carried away any muslin from the Settlement. Flannel and other clothing, which they might be supposed to care for, they not only do not appreciate, but tear to pieces and throw away. In walking through the jungles I pulled out of the mud a pair of flannel drawers which I had given to one of them, and which had been cut up and trampled in the dirt. The Andamanese discard all covering, and wear only as distinctive badges (?) bands formed of their jungle rope, and ornamented with painted pig's bones, round their brows and waists; but the women, even their youngest female children, are never seen altogether naked; their waistbands are larger than those worn by the men, and they can always be distinguished at a distance by the bunches of dry grass or fibre which hang from their waists behind, and in front they have a small covering of green leaves tightly fastened to their waist-belts. I have never seen in either the men or women the least sign of indelicacy; the women are quite modest, but at the same time confiding, free, and familiar; they will place their arms round our necks, sit on our laps, rest their heads in close contact with our faces in a way that the uninitiated would consider most amorous, and take many other sportive and harmless liberties, but in the most perfect guilelessness, and without a single conscious thought of doing anything out of course or unbecoming. Their husbands though, as was terribly shewn in the unhappy case of the murder of a European, tenacious of the honour of their women, show no uneasiness or jealousy in the freedom with which they treat us, as if too simple, or too confiding to suspect improper motives.

The Andamanese seem to assign no particular department of work

to their women; the latter usually remain in the camp with the children, taking care of their huts and property, while the men are on the chase or fishing. We have sometimes found not more than eight or ten men at the Chief Camp, and these generally the oldest and most sickly, and when we have asked the cause of the absence of the rest, they have pointed to the jungles with words and gestures signifying that most of their tribe had gone into the interior on hunting excursions in search of their favourite "Rogo." Jingo informed me that there was plenty of the latter in the jungles opposite Middle Camp. The number of sick in their camp that we have seen in recent visits shews that with all their hardy habits and simple and primitive mode of living, the damp and malarious climate of the Andamans tries even their robust constitutions very severely. It seems a matter of surprise to some persons that so much sickness should prevail amongst Europeans and Natives on the sea-girt island which we occupy, but they would no longer wonder at it if they could see the effect of the South-West Monsoon on the aborigines who have inhabited these islands through many generations, and who it might be supposed would be thoroughly acclimatised and inured to the changing and inclement seasons. The most curious fact is that they appear to enjoy better health on their own selected swampy grounds, and under their half exposed and feebly protected dwellings, than on this island, which is cleared of all jungle, and where they have the comfort of a well-ventilated and thoroughly water-tight house, raised about three feet from the ground, besides the advantage of ample clothing, warm blankets, and simple and wholesome food, with no work to do, but learning the alphabet, and walking exercise *ad libitum*.

(On Ross Island they were always exposed to the wind without the shelter of the jungle in which the full force and effect of the wind is never felt; they were not permitted to paint themselves with their oily pigments which afforded their skins a protection against chills; they used clothing to which they were not accustomed, and which they threw off when they felt hot and thus got chilled; they had a changed diet which affected their stomachs, and a changed life which affected their minds; and they were thus, and by inaction so

different from their active jungle life, predisposed to illness. *M. V. P.*)

They suffer most from coughs and colds, ague, fever, and severe headache. It is thought that their "tattooing" is for a sanitary purpose, for they always wish to do it to their people here when they are suffering from any illness. (Mr. Corbyn confounds the "bleeding" which is done in sickness to relieve inflammation, and "tattooing" which is for ornament only—*M. V. P.*)

As a remedy for illness it is a very barbarous and cruel one. (No doubt, but what would the doctors in Europe fifty years before have said to Mr. Corbyn for this remark—*M. V. P.*)

Jumbo had his leg tattooed by Topsy more than a month ago, and he has ever since suffered extreme pain from the sores which are still raw and bloody.

I now proceed to a brief account of two subsequent visits to the mainland, which afforded further opportunities of improving our acquaintance with the aborigines.

The object of the first was to carry back to their homes some Andamanese children, and to endeavour once more to find a passage to a supposed encampment in the interior.

Some officers of the *Arracan* accompanied the party, which was composed of the usual guard of Naval Brigade men and some men of the Sappers under command of Captain Wetherall.

On our arrival at Chief Camp we found only a few Andamanese in the huts; the head-quarters of the tribe had been moved to an encampment further to the north, to which, later in the day, we followed them.

Before commencing our journey we cleared a wide space in front of the beach by cutting down a tree which had spread its branches over the sand, and which, while it remained there, formed a covert, under shelter of which the aborigines could aim at us with their bows and arrows without our seeing them, while we were exposed to their attack in our boats or on the beach. On a former occasion, when there appeared some danger of an encounter with them, a

number of them rushed behind this tree and took up a position of defence there, as if aware of the advantage which it gave them in the event of a disturbance; and they would then probably have shot at some of us if we had not taken one of them a prisoner, and held him before us to cover our retreat.

This done, we pursued the inland route, along the road formerly cleared by the Sappers; but afterwards finding marks of a track branching into another direction, we followed it in hope that it might lead to an encampment, in which we were not disappointed; for, after we had proceeded about two miles, we suddenly came upon a party of aborigines grouped together in a cleared enclosure, which was so thickly surrounded with jungle that it was not till we were within a few yards of it that we saw the smoke of their fire; and we might, even at that distance, have passed it by unnoticed had not our course lain across a stream above which the smoke issued.

They remained quite silent till we came close to them, as if playfully or for some reason, wishing to conceal themselves; they then jumped up and came towards us, seeming much amused that we had found out their hiding place. Jingo and Jacko, who were of the number, but so grotesquely painted that we could not recognise their features, explained to us that they had just returned from hunting, but apparently without success, as there were no pig bones, nor remains of food on the ground; they had taken the precaution to put away their weapons and other property, but, on our promising not to follow them, they fetched us some bows and arrows from some bushes where they had concealed them.

The discovery of this encampment in the densest part of the jungle is of some interest, as showing the fallacy of the opinion, so long maintained, that the interior of these islands is not inhabited, and that the aboriginal population is altogether restricted to the coast, both on account of the density of the forest, and the want of food any where but near the sea.

The density of the forest is certainly no bar to its occupation, for they have been found in all parts of the forest which have yet been

penetrated, and the fact that their chief employment is pig hunting shows that they are not entirely dependent on the coast fisheries for their subsistence.

The numerous creeks and rivers by which the interior is intersected, and which abound with fish, must yield quite as plentiful and much more certain subsistence than the sea, which for more than half the year is almost unapproachable on account of the surf and stormy weather; and even Native convicts, who have escaped from the Settlement, have contrived to subsist for a length of time on the herbs and berries which are found in the woods.

It is probable, therefore, that the aborigines roam all over the mainland in search of food and in the spirit of adventure, and that their resources are as varied and abundant as their range is extensive. (Dudhnáth had already ascertained the above facts, which to a certain extent are correct, but the difference between the Ár-*yāūto* and Éremtága tribes was not then known—*M.V.P.*)

More recently some of them, apparently of another tribe, have been met with in the very heart of the interior; and an acquaintance with their language and further researches may yet discover to us numerous tribes occupying inland tracts, and living quite as much by the chase and the wild produce of the soil as by fishing.

Our explorations came to an end about a mile further, some of our party being too fatigued to continue the journey; we, therefore, agreed to return and proceed in our boats further to the north, where the aborigines had fixed their new encampment.

The Andamanese with us directed us to a sandy beach about two miles to the north, and on nearer approach we saw a long row of huts and crowds of men and women in great bustle, running from one hut to another, and carrying away bundles which probably contained property, which they were anxious to conceal from us. We had much difficulty in landing; the surf rose so high that few of us escaped a drenching, and the sailors were obliged to leave their fire-arms in the boats, which, however, were sufficiently near to render assistance if it had been needed.

The rice and biscuits which we had brought as our usual peace offering to the aborigines were completely saturated with salt water, but to their taste they were no worse for their wetting. They carried them to the camp where there was a great scramble—all of them crowding round with leaves and shells and baskets to catch the contents of the bags as they were distributed ; it was amusing to observe their cunning artifices to attract my attention as I served out the rice to them—those whom I knew thrust themselves most prominently before me, reminding me of our acquaintance by pointing to themselves, and repeating the names which we had given them : the woman Emma put her baby forward to intercede for her and wished to force him into my arms, and the sly little creature aided her diplomacy by holding out his tiny hands towards me, and looking at me most appealingly ; and when I gave him some rice he ate it raw, as did also his mother and other aborigines.

There were great lamentations in the camp over one of the boys who had returned with us ; he had been absent some weeks, and his apprehensive relations had probably been distressing their minds with misgivings of his safety, or fears that he might not be allowed to return to them again. I never knew people more eccentric in their affection. They will sometimes, when they meet again after only a night's separation, fall on each other's necks and weep most affectingly, though they have been at the same time on the same island, and separated only by the distance between my house and the Andaman Home.

We had an opportunity this time of seeing the manufacture of hemp for bowstrings. It was obtained from the under-bark of a light coloured tree, peculiar to the Andaman jungles ; they peeled off long strips, and wove it together with their hands and feet : it is strong and durable, but not so flexible as some thinner twine they use for fishing lines, and which seems to be made of a softer fibre.

(There are several mistakes here. There is no hemp in the Andaman Islands. What Mr. Corbyn saw was the manufacture of "Bétmo" rope, from the "Álaba" fibre ; this is used for turtle-harpoon lines, and for turtle nets. It is never used for bowstrings

in the making of which "Yólba" fibre is exclusively used. The Andamanese have no fishing lines—*M. V. P.*)

They showed themselves much more friendly disposed towards us now than they had been in the morning. At the other camp they held aloof from us at first, and seemed rather morose and suspicious, which I attributed to the presence of so many armed Natives whom, they seem to fear, or rather distrust, much more than Europeans, perhaps because they have learnt that we never use weapons against them except in defence or under great provocation, or in cases of extreme necessity; while experience has taught them that the former are not always so scrupulous and forbearing. I have heard that at one time some of the south tribe used frequently to visit the Settlement at Viper Island, and were on very friendly terms with the native fishermen, whom they assisted in mending their nets, and never molested or interfered with their fisheries—when all at once for some trifling offence of some petty thefts of fruit and vegetables, in which they had been indulged till they thought it allowable, the natives attacked them with sticks and stones, and because they resisted, as it was natural they should do, they were hunted down and shot, and several of them were wounded, and one or more killed.

The consequence has been that, though often seen in their canoes, they never again approached the island, and always fled from boats which followed them, and no advances could induce them to hold any communication with us till very recently. These were probably the same people whom I described as being so cruel and implacable in their hatred towards native convicts, as having resisted my friendly overtures to them notwithstanding the mediation of the Andamanese with me, who no doubt gave them a favourable representation of the treatment they have met with. I was not surprised to hear, when I returned with Captain Wetherall to the other camp where we had left the Sappers, that the Andamanese occupying that camp had all taken their departure simultaneously with us, some of them having followed us, and the rest retreated into the woods carrying away everything but the bare huts with them. (It is due to Major Haughton's administration of Andamanese affairs to point out that

Mr. Corbyn has given above a distorted account of the occurrences on Viper Island. His statements are exaggerated and incorrect, and he appears to overlook the habitual looting by his own parties of the Andamanese bows and arrows.—*M. V. P.*)

This trip ended, we soon afterwards (13th June) formed a party to visit the south coast, where we expected to meet with the tribe who were known to frequent the woods about Aberdeen, and who distinguished themselves some years ago by the part which they took in a ludicrous skirmish known in the chronicles of the Settlement as the "Battle of Aberdeen."

(I have heard accounts of the "Battle of Aberdeen" from Lieutenant Warden, who was present in command of part of the Naval Brigade; from Wologa Jólah, one of the Andamanese chiefs in command of the aborigines; and from other Andamanese who were present; and it would appear that, far from being a "ludicrous skirmish," it was the most desperate and determined attack ever made on our Settlement. The intention of the aborigines was, they acknowledge, to exterminate us. Mr. Corbyn might have allowed his own work with the Andamanese to stand on its own merits, and there was no necessity for him to belittle the work of his predecessors, or to hold the occurrences of their time up to unjust ridicule.—*M. V. P.*)

We started in large force; the officers of the *Arracan* and *Tubal Cain* lent two boats, and most of them accompanied us; Lieutenant Gill, who had come in the *Arracan* in command of a detachment of soldiers in charge of prisoners, brought with him twelve of his men, and Colonel Tytler furnished a guard of an equal number of armed natives. The Andamanese woman Topsy acted as our guide, but was with great difficulty persuaded to go with us—she screamed and cried, and clung to her husband Jumbo, and appealed with tears to Colonel Tytler not to allow them to be separated, and when we pulled away from the island she kept her eyes fixed on the beach, and shouted to Jumbo who ran along the shore and responded to her cries till we were out of hearing. We assured her that we should return that evening, but the sight of our large party,

and of so many boats steering not towards her own camp but in an opposite direction, seemed to alarm her, and she may have supposed that we were bent on a hostile expedition against the South Tribe, and feared the consequences if she fell into their hands; as it is evident, from their frequent repudiation of any connection with them, that there is no friendly feeling between the aborigines of the north and those who occupy the mainland to the southward. As we passed by the coast near "Aberdeen" we waved bunches of plantains and called to the aborigines, some of whom were seen on the trees skipping from branch to branch with the nimbleness of monkeys; but from the height from which they were watching us, they could see the muskets in our boats, which probably frightened them, for they neither replied nor approached any nearer. The party went on to Snake Island, and landed on it for breakfast. There was a great abundance of rare shells on the beach; and Topsy seemed to be sensible of their value to us; for, as soon as we landed, she went, of her own accord, and collected a large number of them for me, and made such a good selection that I was glad to accept them; at this she was pleased, saying she had collected them for "Myjola" the name which the aborigines have given me signifying "Protector." (Māīa or Mám Jólah, a Honorific meaning "a person of importance," "one to be be respected," "Sir," etc.—*M. V. P.*)

Having breakfasted and finished our inspection of the island, we next steered to a large sandy beach on the mainland directly opposite. (Now called after Mr. Corbyn, "South Corbyn's Cove."—*M. V. P.*)

As soon as we landed, the soldiers commenced to clear the jungles, and to form a strong position to protect our boats and party in the event of our being attacked. To the south of this beach is a fresh-water creek; near which, on the bank, were the remains of a fire which was still warm and not quite extinguished, and scattered about on the ground green leaves with grains of boiled rice and pineapple peels and cockle shells, and the soil was marked with footprints much larger than those of the aborigines, from which we inferred that some escaped convicts, of whom there are many dwelling in the

woods, had just been cooking their food there, and had fled into the jungles when they saw us approaching.

(It is remarkable that it never seems to have occurred to Mr. Corbyn's parties to use the Andamanese to help them track and catch these men. Much energy was spent in hunting the Andamanese and cutting roads through the jungle to their encampments, but no one troubled about the runaway convicts.—*M. V. P.*)

Lieutenant Gill directed the soldiers to remain on the beach while we explored the creek, which was so deep and wide at its mouth that we were curious to see how far it penetrated; and we also hoped to find an encampment of the tribe, though Topsy, who seemed to be acquainted with their movements, assured us that there were none of them encamped in that direction "Boodee Yorbudda" (*Bud yába*-da, means "no hut"), and urged us to go to the north where her own tribe was stationed.

About six (?) miles from the coast we found a large encampment containing about fifteen huts, very prettily situated on the right bank of the creek in the middle of a large and well shaded bamboo grove.

Topsy's information proved to be correct, for it was quite deserted and had apparently not been inhabited for many months. We searched the bushes for bows and arrows(!), but could find no relics of the tribe, except cockle shells strewed over the ground. The creek abounds with cockles and shrimps, the latter are so plentiful that the boatmen caught them in their clothes as they waded through the stream. We also collected a quantity of oysters, of which there was a bed at the mouth of the creek. Some of these oyster beds have been allowed to go on accumulating for years, the aborigines never disturbing them; for though partial to all other kind of shell-fish, they seem to have a disrelish for oysters, probably on account of the copper they contain.(!?) The young and smaller sort are not at all of inferior quality to the best imported oysters; and have, perhaps, a purer taste of the genuine native oyster.

On our return we found the soldiers still stationed where we had left them. Some of them had beguiled the time with bathing, but they had met with no adventure to divert them, except an unsuccess-

ful chase after a pig, and had not seen any aborigines. To indulge their curiosity, I proposed to visit the North Tribe, and to take to them the pigs and provisions which we had brought to propitiate the other tribe who seemed so little disposed to reciprocate our friendly advances. Topsy was greatly distressed as we passed Ross Island, and stood up in the boat and called to Jumbo, but she recovered her spirits at the sight of friends ; as soon as we reached the camp and went amongst them exchanging news and describing to them all that she had observed during the morning excursion. She was very much afraid that we would leave her at the camp, and frequently came to me entreating me to allow her to return with us to Ross Island. As I was walking on the shore she came and caught me by the arm, and enjoining secrecy and silence, slily beckoned to me to follow her, and then looking cautiously round to see that no one was watching her, she led me through the jungle till we came to a tree amongst the foliage of which was carefully concealed a large bundle of arrows. She pointed to them and made signs to me to take them, and then ran away laughing and calling out as she went "Jumbo! tweeken," which was a significant hint that she had shown me the arrows as an inducement to take her back to Jumbo. (The above words are not understood.—*M. V. P.*)

When I carried them to the camp she looked perfectly innocent of the transaction, and pretended to the owner that I had discovered them myself while searching about the bushes, which the man believed, though if they had known how I came by them they would have been very indignant with Topsy for betraying their treasures to me. I was glad to observe a proof of grateful feeling on the part of Crusoe towards one of our party, Mr. D'Cruze, of the *Tubal Cain*, who had shewn him much kindness on their passage from Moulmein to Port Blair, two years before. He at once recognized Mr. D'Cruze, and ran and threw his arms round his neck ; and then leaving him went and brought him from the woods a finely finished bow, which a short time before he had denied giving to some stranger who had offered him cutlery of much more than its value in exchange for one. I have seen Crusoe, who is evidently a man of some consequence amongst

the tribe, shed tears like a child when his feelings have been acted upon; and I cannot think that these poor people are so brutalized, as they have been represented to be, when I see them evince so much sympathy and tenderness, and cling so fondly and confidingly to those who have befriended them. I am certain that those of them who have been a short time under my care in Port Blair would follow me anywhere, and commit their lives to my protection with implicit confidence; and I believe in the same way, in the course of time, by kind and firm treatment all the other tribes, if they at all resemble those whom we have conciliated and attached to us, might be rendered equally tractable and submissive, and reclaimed out of their present state of barbarism into a condition in which they would be of essential service to the interests of the Settlement by facilitating discoveries and removing the obstacles which are at present opposed to the development of the great natural wealth and advantages of these islands.

Snowball was lying in one of the huts and seemed almost insensible from the effects of a severe fever from which he was suffering. He had nothing under him but a thin mat; his head rested on the lap of a woman who strongly resembled him, and appeared to be about the same age; but Crusoe who understands a few words of English told us that she was his "Mama." The poor woman was very much afflicted, and nursed and fondled him with great affection, doing all she could by the most tender care to alleviate his sufferings.

There was a large canoe in the creek concealed under some bushes; the Andamanese looked disappointed and annoyed when we discovered it, but they were very much pleased when they saw that we had no intention to deprive them of it.

(All the timidity and hostility about which Mr. Corbyn makes such a fuss was occasioned by the fear of having their property stolen by us, and it cannot be wondered at when one considers how their bows, arrows, and other articles seem to have been taken whenever our parties landed.—*M. V. P.*)

When we were about to return, several of the women and children

ran to our boats and jumped into them of their own accord. Topsy had secured a seat long before we started, and screamed and made great resistance when we pretended to oust her out of it; the rest almost capsized our boat in their ecstacies of mirth, swinging their arms, and dancing on the benches and sides of the boat as vigorously and with as much coolness and disregard of consequences as if they had been "tirpahing" on the boards of a verandah; the women were fascinated with the red coats of the soldiers, and paid them the most embarrassing attentions, seating themselves quite leisurely on their laps, putting their arms round their necks, slapping their faces, pulling their whiskers, and indulging in other sportive and absurd liberties.

When, on our arrival at Ross, they had all assembled at the Andaman Home, they began as usual to relate to each other all that they had observed during the day, describing the most minute occurrences, and mimicking and "taking off" anything that appeared to them droll and laughable in our manners and actions. Topsy's vanity was particularly gratified by the importance which she assumed in the estimation of the audience; she told them how much her services had been in demand during the day, that some one or other was constantly calling to her "here Topsy, there Topsy, Topsy, Topsy, come Topsy" (she remembered and repeated the words), and that one person would drag her by the arm in one direction, and another in another. They have all a lively sense of humour and uncommon powers of mimicry, and their words, which are delivered with a rapid and voluble utterance, sound singularly droll in connection with their comical gestures.

(Mr. Corbyn's description of the personal behaviour of the Andamenese is excellent and perfectly true to life. It is a pity that more care was not taken of the woman Topsy, who seems to have been invaluable.—*M. V. P.*)

Soon after this I paid another visit to the mainland in order to give any of the Andamanese in the Settlement, who wished to return to their homes, an opportunity to do so. Only one of them, the woman Bess, Snowball's wife, availed herself of the opportunity.

I have seen it stated that the people are detained at the Andaman Home against their will; but a simple refutation of this mis-statement may be adduced from the fact that they are now only too anxious to come to the Settlement, and that we have much more difficulty in keeping them away from this island than in inducing them to remain here. It would obviously be a false policy, if we wish to conciliate and attract them to us, to put such a restraint upon their liberty, and make their stay compulsory; for, however well it might succeed for the time, eventually they would dislike and shun us; and our object, which is to familiarise them with us, and to shew them that our intentions towards them are friendly and pacific, would be neutralized and defeated. We certainly cannot have boats daily plying backwards and forwards to their camps, and indulge every sudden whim of theirs to go over to the mainland, perhaps for no more urgent purpose than to paint themselves, or to hunt after pigs, for were we to yield to such capricious fancies, there would be no limit to their exactions; but when they are really anxious to leave they are always permitted to do so within reasonable intervals, and the best proof that they do not consider themselves involuntarily detained is, that, notwithstanding the grievances invented and alleged on their behalf, these very Andamanese, who are said to be pining in imprisonment, after they have been released, return of their own accord to their dungeons, and during the time I have resided here they have come back time after time, some of them remaining away only one or two days, and they make a more lengthened stay each time that they return. It is of course difficult to wean them all at once from habits and modes of life to which they have become attached by long custom, but in many respects they are gradually assimilating themselves to our ways and practices, and can perceive and appreciate the superior comforts and advantages of civilization, and evidently prefer them to the exposure and severe hardships which they undergo in their own jungles.

(I have, in justice to Mr. Corbyn, allowed the above passage to stand as written by him, but, whatever may have been the custom at the actual period when he wrote it, there can be no doubt, from

Colonel Tytler's letters, and from the subsequent letters of Major Ford, that the Andamanese were detained against their will in the Andaman Home, and that considerable and illegal pressure was put on them to keep them there.—*M. V. P.*)

My next visit was to a camp far to the northward, nearly out of sight of Ross Island. The surf here was very high and we were unable to land. The Andamanese came down on the beach and Bess jumped out of the boat and swam ashore diving below the breakers, and gliding through the surf with wonderful speed and agility. Five of the aborigines seeing that we were prepared to return to Port Blair swam out to us, and others were about to follow, but we sailed away, fearing to overcrowd our boat with too many of them. They seemed to have shifted their camp in search of food, for those who joined us looked wretchedly famished, and slapped their shrunken stomachs and pointed to Ross Island, as an intimation that they were in want of food and wished to return there to replenish themselves. As the wind was against us we had to tack back, at which the Andamanese were uneasy and impatient, and could not understand why we should put ourselves to the trouble of tacking so frequently; they constantly pointed to the island, and evidently thought it a matter of perfectly plain sailing to steer straight to it, and were puzzled and vexed that we so often deviated from our direct course and sailed in directions quite opposite to our destination. They showed their usual contrivance in sheltering themselves from the rain by using our mats to make coverings in the shape of their huts slantingly opposed to the wind, under which they crouched together and kept themselves quite warm and dry; while we were exposed to a pelting rain and almost cramped with the damp and chilly night air.

After this excursion, I seldom attempted to visit the aborigines at any of their encampments beyond North Point, but they have often come down to the coast opposite the Settlement and signalled by fires to us to send boats for them, and when we have done so, many of them, sometimes seventeen and eighteen at a time, and mostly women and children, have seized the opportunity of returning to their "Home" here.

A few weeks ago a European convict passing close to the mainland saw some Native convicts and Andamanese, and the latter pointed to the convicts and made signs to him to come and take them. He believed that they had brought back the convicts, perhaps as a means of attracting boats which would otherwise not approach them ; there being an order against persons landing at any place on the South Andaman where the aborigines are known to have their encampments. More convicts than ever now escape to North Point, emboldened, no doubt, by the more friendly temper of the aborigines towards us ; formerly, they were terror-stricken at the sight of the ferocious and formidable islanders, and avoided an Andamanese camp as they would have shunned the lair of a wild beast ; but having lately seen them resort here so frequently, and having heard no doubt of the warning impressed on them of the punishment which would attend their ill-treatment of any person belonging to the Settlement, they take advantage of it to presume on their forbearance and indulgence, and now go quite freely amongst them and even try to extract food from them. The Andamanese have now become so accustomed to see convicts coming to their camps, that when any of them here offend them, they threaten them with their revenge when they catch them on the mainland ; and many of them, with that superstitious feeling which is so strong in natives of India, are really afraid to injure them or to incur their resentment, for fear that, by some fortuitous mishap, they might some day be tempted to run away and fall into the hands of vindictive enemies. Colonel Tytler is anxious that I should try to find some means of inducing our Andamanese friends to recapture escaped convicts ; and it would perhaps be an act of mercy to do so, if only to hinder Natives from going amongst a people so little under the restraint of order, and provoking and instigating them to bloodshed, and all other acts of violence, by the annoyance which they cause them ; the result of even one indiscreet or hasty act being, perhaps, to fatally mar our attempts to conciliate and civilize them ; but I fear that, if we invested people of such a turbulent and reckless disposition with a police control over truant Natives, we might let loose their worst passions and encourage their

inclination, which can now hardly be subsided, to attack and ill-use peaceable and unoffending Natives indiscriminately with those who outlaw themselves and forfeit all protection by trying to evade the sentence which has bound them to the Settlement.

(Colonel Tytler was right in his wish to make the Andamanese recapture the runaway convicts, and they, in the above instance, show that they were willing to do so and to bring them in unharmed, if they made no resistance. Mr. Corbyn did not appreciate how far the friendly relations with the Andamanese had reached, nor did he understand their nature, that of the convicts, or his own duty to the Government of India in his capacity of Officer in charge of the Andamanese. It was for him to see that the convicts were unharmed, and that atrocities did not occur, and had the steps Colonel Tytler recommended been then taken, a great advance would have been made by enlisting the Andamanese on the side of the Government, and the discipline of the Settlement would have improved. Mr. Corbyn seems to have lost sight of the fact that the Natives were convicts, who, once they had escaped from imprisonment, had to be arrested at all risks, and that no consideration was due to them; moreover, the episodes of the Mutiny should have taught him that these same convicts deserved at least equally as much as the Andamanese the abusive adjectives he was so fond of applying to the latter. The fact was that he did not understand the Andamanese, and it becomes more and more apparent from this time that his treatment of them was mistaken and improper. After events have shown us that he ought to have cultivated friendly relations between the Andamanese and Europeans only, and so long as the Natives were not molested by the aborigines, the less the two had to do with each other the better.—*M. V. P.*)

If we derive advantages, as we undoubtedly do, from maintaining a good understanding with the aborigines of these islands, it is certainly an evil consequent on it, that it gives encouragement to convicts to try and effect their freedom, and to evade their work successfully for a considerable time; for they may now venture into the wide jungles and traverse the whole mainland with almost complete

impunity, which they were far from likely to do before the Andamanese were intimidated into humane and tolerant conduct towards them. (Thus showing what a mistake this intimidation was.—*M. V. P.*)

Formerly, if one of them met an Andamanese armed with bow and arrows, he was immediately attacked and stripped, and deprived of all that he carried with him; and the cowardly promptitude with which he yielded, and his supplicating and obsequious manner only excited contempt and derision, and provoked that malicious pleasure which savages find in seeing their victims writhe and look miserable under the tortures which they inflict upon them. I have heard natives describe and admit their dismay and terror in one of these encounters with the savages. Some of them were once working in the woods near Haddo, when they were suddenly confronted by two Andamanese with bows and arrows, which they brandished and pointed menacingly towards them. At the sight of the hatchets in the hands of the convicts they danced and laughed exultingly. The convicts, afraid to run, fell at full length on the ground, and clasped the feet of the savages imploring mercy, and crying to their "Ram," "Ram;" the savages imitated even their prostrate and supplicating postures and *congee*, and reflected with painful and cruel accuracy their affrighted and deprecating gestures; and when their love of mimicry was satiated, and they had danced and laughed and slapped their shaking sides till they were exhausted they seized the coveted hatchets, seem to hesitate whether they should discharge their arrows or inflict some corporal incision; but on better thought desisted, and then went away shouting "Ram," "Ram," and describing to each other the consternation of the poor convicts.

(These same "poor convicts," for whom Mr. Corbyn had so much sympathy, had only a few years before been doing far worse to Europeans of both sexes in India. One would suppose that Mr. Corbyn had got his ideas of savages from the accounts of the North American Indians, who do not in any way resemble the Andamanese. The latter have many of the mental characteristics of the Negro, and he

should have studied the accounts of the Hottentots and the Tasmanians.—*M. V. P.*)

But other convicts have not generally been so fortunate, and have seldom come away from such an encounter without some mark of the meeting, such as a slit by a knife or arrow through some part of the body; but latterly these atrocities have not been repeated, and even the Southern Tribe, perhaps from watching our intimacy with the other aborigines, and the advantages which they have derived from it, have altogether abstained from acts of hostility. Burmese and other Natives have met them occasionally near Haddo and Aberdeen and so far from showing an unfriendly disposition, the parties that they have met have given them their bows and arrows, and sat down in a familiar and social way, and eaten food with them; and I am told that none of the many runaway convicts who have lately returned have complained of being assaulted or otherwise ill-used by these islanders. The two tribes who are opposite the Settlement, though, by a common consent, they live apart and occupy different and widely distant tracts of country, occasionally meet, and some of the Southern Tribe have been seen in the woods and at the encampments at the north of the island; but beyond such occasional visits, which may be for purposes of traffic and barter, there appears to be no intimacy between them, but rather jealousy and dislike, if we may judge from the feeling which the small fraternity here manifest towards their countrymen of the south; for they express great contempt and tell me that they are "no good," when I point to that part of the island and ask them if they are not their "Budolahs" "clansmen" there. ("Bud-ola" means "a person inhabiting the same village," not "a fellow-tribesman." The description is very correct, one Sept always abuses another in the hope that the speakers will get all the presents.—*M. V. P.*)

Some of them will shake their heads dissentingly, and warn me never to go near them, declaring that they will shoot me if I do so. Once, when I was visiting the encampment beyond North Point, a party of Andamanese came from the woods, and on seeing us stood at a distance in a group, conferring together for some moments; when

on a signal from one of them, they all suddenly disappeared, and a Burman convict, who was with me, afterwards explained that they were some of the other tribe amongst whom he once resided, and that the man who gave the signal was their chief; that he (the Burman) formerly made his escape from the Settlement, and was taken and kept a prisoner by them, but contrived to effect his flight; and that the chief, when he observed him with our party, pointed to him and laughed, and exchanged some remarks with the others; whereupon, as I had seen, they all at once retreated, fearing, perhaps, that he might recognise them and have them apprehended (! ?). I have said that the convicts of the new settlement seemed to be losing that wholesome dread of the wild men of the woods which had hitherto acted as a check(?) upon their truant propensities, and there was a curious instance of this:—The other day in the singular occurrence of a female married convict leaving the Settlement to try her fortune amongst the aborigines, she, and some other convicts, floated on a raft which they had constructed to North Point, and landing there, journeyed along the coast, till they came to an Andamanese encampment; they remained there a few days; but, disappointed in their expectation of being fed and entertained without cost and trouble, and finding that the Andamanese, though they suffered their presence, showed no desire for their company, they repented of their folly and returned; and the woman wisely resolved to submit ever after to her fate; and it may be hoped that her experience of the discomforts of a vagrant life will be a caution to the other malcontents of her sex who are rash enough to suppose that they can better their condition by exchanging it for Gipsy life among the savages.

The Native convicts have a foolish notion that there is an almost continuous land link between these islands and their own country; hundreds have essayed the feat of trying to discover such a passage; and no reasonings, nor even their experience of the invariable and often disastrous failure of such attempts, can disabuse their minds of the dearly cherished hallucination. They imagine, too, that there is a rajah at the "Cows" (? Cocos.—*M. V. P.*), who is friendly to their

countrymen, and who will protect and provide for them, if they can only reach the islands.

It is surprising how far some of these escaped convicts wander through the jungles. In the course of an excursion up one of the creeks above Viper, we met one of them fifteen miles or more from the Settlement, and by his own account he had been seven days wandering about the woods in all directions trying to find an outlet. He had subsisted during that time on berries, unripe fruit, and leaves, and looked miserably emaciated. The junglees, or wild men as he called them, had made him eat pork; of course much against his will as he was a strict Mussulman; and, except that they pelted him with stones when he remonstrated, they had not interfered with him, but shared their food with him and otherwise treated him kindly.

While exploring this creek, one of the largest in the Settlement, which starting about a mile south of Viper, runs for several mile into the interior, the Burmese convicts we had with us succeeded in catching two large pigs, which they liberally shared with Topsy and Jacko. The latter presided over the cooking, and appropriated a very undue portion; not content with helping himself first, and gorging himself almost to suffocation, he wrapped as much more as he wanted in leaves and hid the bundle under our hut; and again during the night ate so plentifully that he complained the next morning of being very unwell, and Topsy had to bleed him. Topsy and Jacko were very much alarmed when they found it was our intention to proceed far into the jungle to the south, and did their utmost to dissuade us. They made me understand that we should encounter an unfriendly tribe of aborigines of whom they themselves seemed to be in great dread. (The first mention of the Jàrawas.—*M. V. P.*)

Jacko pointed to my heart and represented the act of a savage aiming at me with his bow and arrow, of the arrow piercing my heart and my falling wounded, closing my eyes and expiring. Topsy also pathetically enacted the death scene, and both waved their hands deprecatingly in the direction disapproved of, and entreated me not to proceed further but to return to the "Burra Chab" (Bara Sahib, *i.e.*, "the Superintendent"). ("Katah Deeayrdah, Burra Chab tweeken")

(*Káto día*-da, Bara Sahib (?) "tweeken" is not known, the rest means "There is my ("place," understood) with the Superintendent."—*M. V. P.*)

That there were none of their tribe in the other direction, but that it was "Meecheymyayrdah, Meecheymyayrdh," (Míchima-da, Míchima-da.—What? What?—*M. V. P.*), a word which they frequently repeated with emphasis and in a tone of great disgust. We saw no one and returned to the Settlement two days after we had left it. Topsy was almost beside herself with joy at meeting her husband; he had been very uneasy and often enquired for her and Jacko during their absence, and showed by his manner that he feared some harm had befallen them.

On Saturday, the 25th July, 1863, a party of men of the Naval Brigade left this island in the Superintendent's cutter to visit some birds' nest caverns on the south coast, with permission to be absent two days. We heard nothing more of them till very early on the morning of the 27th an Andamanese canoe with three naked Europeans was seen some distance out to sea making towards the island. There was at once, of course, all manner of surmises which were not set at rest by the reports which were circulated soon after their arrival; for, the first supposed-to-be-authentic intelligence which Colonel Tytler received was, that his cutter with the Naval Brigade men had been wrecked, that the sailors had been attacked by the aborigines, and some of them massacred, while others including the coxswain, Wilkinson (so minute was the account), were lying wounded and bleeding on the beach. The three men who were seen in the canoe had contrived to escape and brought the intelligence. Colonel Tytler, as soon as he espied the canoe at a distance, conjectured what had happened, and immediately ordered a party of armed police in charge of a European; he also ordered Lieutenant Philbrick, Commanding the *Lady Canning*, which was most fortunately here at the time, to make immediate preparations to start for MacPherson's Straits with an armed party of Naval Brigade men. There was great excitement through the Settlement, every one vowing vengeance on "those ungrateful, treacherous, blood-

thirsty savages". I was cautioned to keep those of them who were here out of sight, as it was impossible to say what the sailors might do to them in their rage and excitement; and, of course, all efforts for their good were pronounced a folly and delusion, and they were henceforth to be regarded as no better than wild beasts, to be treated like brutes, and hunted down and exterminated. But the real facts, rightly viewed, represented the contrast between them and the more civilised and superior race in very different colours; they were as follows:—

The sailors who had set on this "birds' nesting" expedition entered MacPherson's Straits, and landed safely on a sandy beach, about a mile beyond the birds' nest caverns, where they found some Andamanese canoes, and on the skirt of the jungle a deserted camp in which the aborigines, who seem to have been scared away by their approach, had left the best part of their possessions, implements, weapons, painted skulls, shell cups, and numerous other curiosities, all scattered about the ground, as if in their hurry and confusion they had not had time to carry them away or conceal them. The sailors plundered all they found—carried their booty to the cutter, fastened the best canoe to the stern, and then set off to return to Ross Island. They were sailing through a heavy sea, and unfortunately too close to shore; for as they were turning the point the boat struck with violence against a sunken rock and immediately capsized; the crew were now in imminent danger, their boat was carried forward with the impetuous force of the waves and dashed to pieces against the rocks; they struggled desperately amongst the rocks and surf, tossed first forward, then back again into the trough of the sea, but fortunately all could swim but one, who sunk immediately; but two of his companions, regardless of their own lives, swam to his assistance and succeeded in dragging him to a rock where he lay insensible; he was not seen again, and they supposed that the receding waves had swept him back into the sea, for his body was not afterwards found, though a careful search was made near the scene of the disaster; it was a miracle of mercy that any of them escaped, but they all, with this one exception, succeeded at last in scrambling

up the cliffs out of reach of the waves where they lay for some time in utter exhaustion—torn, bruised, and bleeding, and one of them apparently lifeless; the latter, Wilkinson, the Chief Petty Officer, was left all night in this position; his companions believing that he was dead, and surprised, they said, when they returned next morning, "to find him alive again," limping about the beach. The others climbed to a plateau on the cliff, which was open to the sea on one side and separated by a ridge of rocks from the jungle on the other, and there they determined that they would remain for the night, as it afforded not only a place of concealment and natural protection against attack by the aborigines, but also the advantage of being able to watch and signal boats and ships passing. They then deliberated on the measures to be taken to convey intelligence of the accident to the Settlement authorities and procure assistance. It was hopeless to think of travelling so many miles along the coast over precipitous rocks and through dense thickets of mangroves; they were shoeless and exhausted, and had not a morsel of food to support them. What then were they to do?—they might remain where they were until their protracted absence created alarm, and assistance was sent to them, but that could not be till the day following at the earliest; and in the meantime they might perish from hunger or faintness, or suffer a worse fate at the hands of the savages. (Whom they had robbed of their property.—*M. V. P.*)

In this extremity they resolved upon a daring and desperate venture; they had left some canoes on the beach opposite the aborigines' encampment, and three of them volunteered to go down and endeavour to seize one, and, if possible, make their way on it to Ross. We have seen how well this bold enterprise succeeded. They pushed out in the canoe, turned the point safely, though not without some hairbreadth escapes, and guiding themselves as well as they could with a paddle, drifted with wind and tide along shore, toward the Settlement. They had not gone before they saw, or fancied they saw, some of the aborigines running along the beach with torches, and, as they thought, pursuing them; large fires on the shore showed that they were encamped there, and to avoid the risk of falling

into their hands, they steered further out to sea, but the tide carried them so far that they at length lost sight of the land, and not knowing in the darkness what course to follow, were altogether at the mercy of the tide and wind, which fortunately blew steadily in this direction, and so were driven to eastward of this island, where they were espied, about four miles off, next morning. When we saw the canoe, two of the men appeared motionless, the other was feebly guiding it with a paddle. A crowd was waiting on the shore to assist them when they landed, and they needed the assistance,—for what with the fatigues they had undergone, and exposure without clothing to rain during the night, and want of food, and extreme anxiety, the poor men had sunk into a semi-stupor, and made no effort at least to save themselves; their canoe struck sideways against a rock at some distance from shore and fell to pieces; they tumbled over and floundered in the water, but were unable to swim, and must have been drowned if some Natives had not immediately hastened to their aid and dragged them on land. The *Lady Canning* then steamed down to the Straits in about three hours. We had not an opportunity of visiting the renowned caves or making any other observations for we were wholly engaged, when we landed, with assisting the sailors who were miserably enfeebled by their long fast and all the hardships they had encountered. All were recovered with the exception of the poor man who had perished on the day of the wreck; the fragments of the cutter, and the sails torn into shreds, were lying on the rocks; but we could not approach the place on account of the heavy surf. This unhappy accident, resulting in the loss of life of one of our sailors, has had one good effect,—that it has determined the Superintendent to prohibit for the future such adventurous excursions which have, before now, brought the Brigadesmen into collision with the aborigines, and have been followed by results which must have increased the antagonism and hatred of the latter towards us.

(It is difficult to understand how, after the scandal and *exposé* in connection with the murder of Pratt, Colonel Tytler could have permitted such an expedition to be undertaken. The sailors, as usual, behaved as badly as possible, and appear to have disgusted even

Mr. Corbyn. They seem to have been a poor lot of men, with little endurance, pluck, or resource, as, when carefully considered, it will be seen that the sufferings they underwent were small in comparison with those which thousands of Europeans in the cases of shipwrecks, or the African expeditions, have endured for many days without a murmur. Mr. Corbyn notices as one of their "sufferings" that they were without clothing in the rain during the whole night. This, with the thermometer at 76° is no great hardship, and they were only without food for a little over a day.—*M. V. P.*)

Until we fully understand their language, and by that means can impartially investigate their complaints, there will, in the progress of their intercourse with us, be frequent cases in which the aborigines may be unfairly represented, and offences imputed to them of which, if the truth could be divulged, they would be found not to have been guilty; and, such being the case, next to the duty of most zealously watching over them to protect their lives and liberty, nothing can be of greater present importance with regard to them than that Government should encourage, by every means, the study of their language, and the instruction in our language of their children, who, when they had acquired a sufficient knowledge of English or Hindustani, would be the best medium of communication with them.

(Having grasped the above facts so clearly, it was a pity that Mr. Corbyn did not apply them in his subsequent dealings with the Andamanese.—*M. V. P.*)

At first it seemed as if their language was to be a perpetual puzzle to philologists, and that at least much time would elapse before we should make the poor Andamanese understand that we were seeking inter-communication of ideas and information with them. For a long time every question that we put to them was repeated with the rapidity of an echo, and with most provoking accuracy, till patience was exhausted, and it seemed hopeless to interrogate them; but at last an accidental circumstance discovered to me the key by which to elicit intelligible utterances; since that time my want has been understood, and they have encouraged my efforts to acquire their language. I observed some of the children curiously examin-

ing various articles in my house which caught their attention, and as they examined each, they turned towards me and called out, with an expression on their faces of interest and curiosity, "Kahmeechi Muddah?" "Kahmeechi Muddah?" which it was quite obvious to me meant, "What do you call this?" "What is the name of this?" and when I, in turn, pointed to something which they knew, and asked them their name for it, they instantly replied giving me the word in their own language by which they designated it.

(*Ká míchima*-da "means "What is this." I have always found the children much more intelligent in such matters than the grown-up Andamanese.—*M. V. P.*)

I have sometimes been asked if the Andamanese observe any form of religion, or if they have ever intimated anything which would argue their belief in a God, or expectation of a future state of existence after death. That they have such expectations I have reason to believe from circumstances which seemed to me little short of their assertion of that fact. An Andamanese woman had lost an infant child which she had formerly brought with her to this island. On her appearing here one day without it, I enquired after her baby, and asked why she had not, as usual, brought it, when she replied that it was dead, and that she had buried it the previous day; and on further interrogation she pointed her finger towards the skies, and said that baby "was there" ("Bar lin din ijo lockon kayler"), and then raised herself and extended her arm as if straining upwards, and made gestures and exclamations which implied that baby had gone very, very far above into their celestial paradise. Had it been a singular incident, I should not have attached so much meaning to it, nor perhaps have founded any opinions of their belief upon it, but many other of the Andamanese, whom I questioned separately about the deceased infant, repeated the poor woman's gestures and expressions.

(The sentence quoted by Mr. Corbyn is not intelligible. The woman may have said, "*Bá*-lá, iji—*lupo kinyi*-ré," "The child died very suddenly," or *Bá-len, dó ijilá on*-ké "The child ("being buried," understood) I come back alone.")

Their idea of a paradise, if I have rightly interpreted it, is gross in the extreme. They believe that it abounds with pigs, and that their departed kinsmen are perpetually revelling in the delights of pig-hunting ("rogo deyley"), and repasts on pigs ("rogo makney") (*Rógo délé*-ké means "to hunt pigs," and *Rógo mék*-ké to "eat pigs").

Perhaps their expectation of this their supreme enjoyment makes them face danger and brave death with such reckless intrepidity. (I have never found them do this. On the contrary, they are rather cowards.—*M. V. P.*) They appear to perform religious rites at burial. (They do not.—*M. V. P.*) Their dead are interred, not burnt; a grave is dug about three feet deep in which the body is deposited; after filling the grave with sand and green leaves, they light a large fire upon it, and cover the ashes with soil; they then abandon their encampment which is invariably also their burial ground and will not occupy it again till after the lapse of several months when the skeleton is disinterred, and the skull and other bones are appropriated by the nearest relative.

I found the complete bones of human bodies carefully wrapped in leaves and concealed in trees, and when the Andamanese have found them in my possession, they have been most eager to recover them, claiming them as valued relics of their friends: skulls, as is generally known, are worn as ornaments suspended from the neck, and made to serve a useful purpose, holding the sundry small articles which they usually carry about with them. When any of the aborigines have died at the Andaman Home, their friends have seemed to have no further care for them, and have left their burial to convict servants.

(In the above, two methods of disposing of the body of the deceased are described; burial, and the placing of the body on a platform, of which the latter is the more honorable. The skull is never used as a box in which small articles are carried. The reason why the bodies of those who died in the Andaman Home were neglected, was because the aborigines there considered themselves to be in confinement, and not permitted to observe their usual customs, perhaps also

from shyness. The subject of the beliefs of the Andamanese regarding a future state is too extensive to be recorded here in a note.—*M. V. P.*)

I am glad to state that some of the South Tribe have lately been induced to visit this island through the influence of "Crusoe," who warmly exerted himself in this instance to second my endeavours. They had encamped not far from Aberdeen; and having noticed their fires one evening, I proposed to some of the North Tribe in the Andaman Home here to visit them the following morning, but they demurred and wished to dissuade me, representing the South Tribe as extremely ill-disposed to us, and warning me that they would assuredly shoot their arrows at me if I landed. When next morning I approached their camp with Crusoe, a crowd of them at first came down to the beach, and Crusoe signalled to them, and shouted most energetically, offering them bags of rice and other grain which we had taken for them in the boat. At first they remained on the beach silently watching us, but when they observed our intention to land near their encampment, they ran back to it, extinguished their fires, gathered up their bundles, and dispersed in different directions through the jungle. It seemed useless to follow them, and I turned the boat intending to return back, but Crusoe begged me to persevere, promising that if we would row along the coast he would prevail upon them to come to us. Some of them seeing our boat turned again, showed themselves on the shore, and then a conversation followed between them and Crusoe, which ended in their agreeing to remain if we landed, which we did. They wished me to proceed with them to a larger encampment of their tribe some distance southward. I left the bags of provisions on the shore, and having persuaded them to come into the boat, set sail; but instead of steering in the direction which they wished, when we were well out to sea, I turned the boat and assuring them that they should be kindly treated, and that they had no cause for the least apprehension, I brought them to this island. After setting before them such a sumptuous feast of roast pigs and other approved dainties, as they had perhaps never before seen, I loaded them with presents and returned next day with

them to their camp, taking with me this time more bags of grain to distribute amongst their friends.

They were so delighted with this treatment, and their confidence so completely gained, that they persuaded fifteen more of their friends to pay a visit to this island. Since that time there have been no less than 47 aborigines in the Andaman Home, of whom twenty are children of various ages.

Some of these have quickly acquired the English alphabet, and words of short syllables, and their imitative powers are so remarkable that they soon catch, and commit to memory, phrases which they hear spoken.

The men are often at first extremely unruly, and I am continually called upon to interfere in cases in which they would not hesitate to take the lives of convicts, or the Native Guard over them, if they persisted in opposing them. Their manner of beguiling their leisure is to sharpen hoop iron into long blades, of which I collect a number every day to prevent their using them against their Parawallahs; this unpleasant duty is not wholly without risk, for they are extremely loath to part with any weapon and are always inclined to resent the seizure of it, even though not their own, as a grievous affront and wrong.

The children, when they can obtain the materials, will employ their time in making bows and arrows, in the manufacture of which they are very skilful, and in the use of them not less so. Two of the boys, each about ten years of age, sometimes go along the rocks round the island shooting fish with bows and arrows. I have seen them leap from rock to rock watching for the fish as they dart out from under them, when with astonishing quickness, and an aim which seldom misses, they discharge their arrows—which the next moment are seen quivering in the water, and one of them plunges in and drags out a fish sometimes fifteen or twenty inches in length fixed to his arrow point. I have seen them obtain in this way a large basket of fish at times, when, on account of stormy weather, none have been caught by the convict fishermen.

They seem to be almost as much in their element in the water as

on land, and the feats in swimming which they sometimes perform are so extraordinary that they will hardly be credited. One man who was fettered and under guard at the Naval Brigade barracks escaped one night, and swam in his heavy iron fetters to the opposite mainland.

Two of the Andamanese under my care left the Home one dark night and swam all the distance from this island to North Point; and a few days afterwards, when I sent a message to them inviting them to return, they swam back again the same distance in the open day each resting on a bamboo branch, (the distance is two miles—*M. V. P.*), it would seem from these circumstances and the fearlessness which they indicate, that sharks, which abound in these waters, do not attack them, for they would hardly risk their lives in so reckless a manner if experience had warned them of such a danger. (The Andamanese are occasionally bitten by sharks and eaten by crocodiles, but very seldom.—*M. V. P.*)

I am bound to correct an erroneous impression of their habits which I have inadvertently conveyed through imperfect observation. It is with regard to the taste for raw flesh which is sometimes attributed to them. Here they both boil and roast their food, one process following the other, and will even reject it if it is not sufficiently cooked for them.

I have found in the office records of this Settlement the following curious document, which I transcribe into this report with a view to add to it information, which I have obtained in confirmation of the interesting fact, so much doubted and derided, which it seems to establish, that these poor people, though they have been so long neglected, possess mental capabilities not at all inferior to others, that, in fact, the Almighty has endowed them with faculties which are common to all the human race, and which have so long lain dormant in them only because the attempt has not been made to bring them into exercise.

"In 1835 or 1837, whilst between Narcondam and Barren Islands, after a blow from the westward, picked up an Andaman canoe con-

taining a man, woman, and two children (a boy and a girl), in a state of starvation, the boy died immediately after being picked up. They were taken to Penang and made over to the authorities; after having landed, the man was taken very ill. Dr. Boswell, the Civil Surgeon, was bleeding him when his wife seized a pot containing water, and flung it at his head; the doctor just had time to stoop to escape the blow; the man died; the girl was put into the Free School and turned out one of the cleverest girls amongst them. After completing her studies, she went under Mrs. Forbes Brown as a sort of a companion; the mother was placed in a Penitentiary at Pulo Tecoos, she had the liberty of going to see her daughter daily, a distance of three miles. Mrs. Smith, the schoolmistress, was in the habit of giving her a piece of sugarcane which she was very fond of. Ladies also gave her clothes which she was in the habit of tearing up and getting patches put to make it look gaudy. When I was in Penang last, herself and her daughter were alive."

H. KINSEY,

Commanding "Lonach."

PORT BLAIR;

The 20th November 1861.

I have learnt on good authority that there is another young Andamanese woman in Penang, who has been from infancy with the family of Mr. Mitchell, a clerk in the Supreme Court; that she has been liberally educated, receiving in all respects the same advantages as his own daughters; that she is an accomplished pianist, studious, and well informed; is gifted with a most amiable and excellent disposition, and that her character and conduct are most praiseworthy and exemplary: that she is a regular and frequent attendant at the Church services, was lately confirmed by the Bishop of Calcutta; and, since her confirmation, has also been a regular communicant.

I was also informed that she is engaged to be married to a European schoolmaster in Penang. Mr. Mitchell's brother is a clerk in the Superintendent's office here, and he confirms these statements.

I am further informed that another Andamanese, a native of these islands, is serving as a nurse in a family at Singapore; she also having been reared and educated there, but nothing more is stated with regard to her. I have also often heard, though I am not aware on what original authority the statement rests, that an Andamanese has for many years been carrying on trade as a Tobacconist in London; and that, as his story is not known there, he passes for a stunted African.

H. CORBYN.

PORT BLAIR;
The 5th October 1863.

(Of the above stories, the three about the Andamanese women are probably one and the same, judging from Major Haughton's account of the information he obtained when visiting Penang. It has often occurred to me that some of the so-called Negro pages, who seem to have been so common in the Courts, and houses of the aristocracy, in Europe in the 18th century, may have been Andamanese, particularly as some of them, unlike the true Negroes, never seem to have grown any bigger. They might easily have been taken by Malay kidnappers from the Andamans to Atcheen, and from that centre passed on in the pilgrim ships, as mentioned by Mr. Hamilton, to the Arabian, Egyptian, and Levantine slave markets—*M. V. P.*)

In October 1863, the Hon'ble Major-General Sir R. Napier, K.C.B., President in Council, visited Port Blair. He notes regarding the aborigines, that Mr. Corbyn's visit to Calcutta with them has had a very good effect, and that Mr. Corbyn deserves great praise for his humane and persevering efforts to win these poor people to civilisation, in which he has gained their confidence and affection.

He strongly recommended that an allowance of not more than Rs. 200 per month should be granted for the expenses of the Andaman Home, with an expression of the full approbation of Government of Mr. Corbyn's services.

CHAPTER XII.

Narrative No. 3, by Mr. Corbyn—Visit to Calcutta of the Andamanese—Visits to Rangoon, and Moulmein, of the Andamanese—Trouble with the South Tribe—Homes on Ross Island—Restrictions—Escape of Andamanese from the Homes—Death of Topsy—Attempt to utilise the Andamanese in the capture of runaway convicts—Letter from Mr. Corbyn—Letter from Major Ford—Trouble in the Homes—Grant of ₹200 per mensem to the Andaman Homes—Port Blair placed under the orders of the Government of Burmah—Enquiry by the Government about the Andamanese—More trouble in the Homes—Murder of a convict by the Andamanese at the North Outpost—Homes closed—Major Ford's opinion of Mr. Corbyn's treatment of the Andamanese—Mr. Corbyn resigns the charge of the Andamanese—Arrangement of the Homes—Review of Mr. Corbyn's management of the Andamanese.

NARRATIVE NO. 3

OF the Reverend Henry Corbyn, relative to the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands.

The present report is submitted on account of His Excellency the Governor General in Council having called for a report on the present condition and working of the Andaman Home.

On the 14th October, 1863, I left Port Blair on medical certificate accompanied by eight Andamanese, the prisoner Jumbo and his wife Topsy, Jacko, three boys and two girls. The weather was very propitious and they thoroughly enjoyed the voyage. Topsy and a little girl, who were ill when we started, quite recovered before the end of it. Far from showing any fear or misgivings as we proceeded, they looked curiously and wistfully forward, longing to reach the place which I had described to them as possessing all the attractions which imagination could depict to them, and daily questioned me about it. All they stipulated for was that we should all return together, which I promised before we started. On our arrival in Calcutta, the Commissioner of Police very kindly placed at my disposal, for the use of the Andamanese, a small house in the Town Hall compound conveniently situated near Spence's Hotel where I had apartments. The news of our arrival soon spread amongst the native population, who

were all most anxious to catch a glimps of the renowned anthropophagi. On the second morning after our arrival the extensive Town Hall enclosure was filled with a dense mass of people, Natives, Eurasians, and Europeans, all clamouring for admission; and on entering the rooms where they lodged I found them beset by a crowd of those eager sight-seers; the Native part of the assembly cautiously keeping at a safe distance with a view to a speedy retreat if they manifested any signs of giving them an uncouth reception.

Each succeeding day the crowds increased; till, at last, the roads leading to the Town Hall became impassable on account of the vast concourse of spectators who would remain, with most exemplary patience, throughout the day waiting for an opportunity to gratify their insatiable curiosity. The most preposterous rumours circulated amongst the natives, that the "monkey-men" as they designated them, had long tails; that a pig was given to them, and they would kill it and eat it raw on the Maidan; that the woman was ill and had declared that nothing would save her life but eating the flesh of a white man. The poor woman was, indeed, very unwell, and the disturbance outside and continual intrusion of people into the house were extremely irritating to her. At last, as the crowd could not be ejected, either by persuasion or by the aid of the police, I endeavoured to effect a compromise by promising to let them see the Andamanese on the Town Hall steps, if they would all leave the compound and open a passage for carriages to pass through it.

As the mob now daily increased, and their curiosity after continually seeing the Andamanese was not in the least degree abated, it became necessary to seek for other quarters in some less populous locality; but here again another difficulty arose which, if I had given sufficient thought to it before I left Port Blair, might have deterred me from undertaking the laborious enterprise of conducting reputed savages to the capital of India. No owner of a house would on any terms, accept the Andamanese as tenants. And as they had notice to quit the building in the Town Hall compound, they would soon have been without a dwelling had I not obtained permission to encamp with them on the Ballygunge Parade Ground, which, being

in the suburbs at some distance from the town, was a situation where the Andamanese could obtain healthy exercise and combine with it all the advantages of sight-seeing, driving into Calcutta without being so much noticed or pursued by the mob who could no longer be on the watch for them.

It was remarked with surprise and disappointment, that they never evinced astonishment or admiration at anything which they beheld, however wonderful from its novelty we might suppose it would appear to them. When they passed through rooms, as in the Calcutta Mint, where the most elaborate appliances of machinery were displayed before them in active operation, while they watched and examined the various motions, not a sign either by word or gesture escaped them that such wonderful contrivances surpassed their comprehension, or that their magnitude and power startled and bewildered them.

But, in fact, their undemonstrative manner was not a sign of unconcern or want of appreciation, but rather an indication that a profound interest was awakened, and that they were too absorbed in thought to give immediate utterances to the sensations which objects so far above their comprehension excited. They would, afterwards amongst themselves interchange their ideas, and talk for hours together of what they had witnessed; and sometimes things which appeared at the time almost to escape notice, or to produce but slight impression, would form the subject of most animated discussion and enquiry.

Their favourite resort was the Dhurrumtollah market, through which I often led them, sometimes not without some difficulty and risk, on account of the pressure of the crowd attracted by the famous "monkey-men." The women and little children were easily manageable, but the men and boys caused me considerable anxiety and trouble, both on account of their propensity to plunder, which notwithstanding the liberality with which all their wishes were gratified, they would have indulged with the most fearless effrontery, and in the most lawless and violent manner, had I not restrained them, and also because of the thoughtless liberties taken with them which they

were very quick to resent, especially if they considered that an indignity was intended. On one occasion, I was driving through the China Bazaar with Jumbo who was seated opposite to me with his legs hanging over one side of the carriage, watching the people as they followed us, when suddenly a Native in the crowd, without any reason or provocation, spat upon his trousers. In an instant his eyes flashed, and his features assumed a most dreadful expression of ferocity, and before I could interfere, with one bound, and his arms flung forward, he sprang upon the man who had offered him the insult. Fortunately, the crowd stopped the way and the man escaped through an alley; but Jumbo, wishing to wreak his revenge on somebody, struck vigorously with his clenched fists right and left, till I seized his arm and dragged him back into the carriage. At another time the same affront was offered to Jacko in the Circular Road; and, as the offender in this instance also escaped, he too vented his wrath upon the mob, lashing them with my buggy whip, till he had completely dispersed them. Unfortunately (?) the Andamanese came away from Calcutta with a more contemptible opinion of the Natives than they had ever before entertained of them, which they have shown in their tone and bearing towards them since they returned to the Settlement. Even a child, running into a crowd of Bengalees and using menacing gestures, would immediately scatter it; and it was natural that the Andamanese, seeing such displays of timidity, should regard the whole race as immeasurably inferior to them in those qualities which they most appreciate and admire.

I was anxious that they should see some military manœuvres, and a parade of troops, for which General Showers kindly appointed a day shortly before our departure; but the intelligence of the melancholy death of Lord Elgin made it necessary to postpone it, and they, therefore, lost the opportunity of witnessing the imposing spectacle.

They frequently visited the fort and also the arsenal and armoury; mutual recognitions passed between them and some men of Her Majesty's 13th L. I., who had been to Port Blair on detachment duty and visited them in their encampment. They never forget a face which they have once seen. When Lieutenant Gill of Her

Majesty's 13th L. I., entered the room where they lodged, they immediately pointed him out to me as one of the party who had visited their "Boudlah," and appeared delighted to see him again on account of that circumstance.

Amongst other places they were taken to the Asiatic Society's Museum, in which they appeared to recognise different skeletons of animals, and gave names to the various species according to the formation of the under jaw. They also attended a meeting of the Asiatic Society and at the Bethune Institution. At the former the chief subject of discussion which elicited opposite opinions was the possibility of an attempt to civilize them, and one of the speakers, who doubted its success, instanced the case of barbarous aborigines of other countries who had had long communication and intercourse with Europeans, who easily imitated and acquired the bad habits of the civilized race without adopting any of those which tended to improve them. But one cause of the demoralization and physical deterioration of other barbarous races which he mentioned, happily does not exist amongst the Andamanese, namely, the passion for ardent spirits; indeed, it is difficult to persuade them, even in sickness, to imbibe any kind of stimulant. It is true that they may hereafter become accustomed to the use of liquors when associating more with the people of this Settlement, but it is to be earnestly hoped that our utmost influence will be exercised to prevent such a calamitous consequence of our intercourse with them.

Besides places of interest in Calcutta which they visited, they were taken to see the great piggeries in Entally which, as I had expected, threw them into raptures; they also went by railway to Burdwan, and, by the kindness of the Rajah, were allowed to see his house and grounds, and famous menagerie, all of which they have never ceased to speak of and call to my recollection.

On the 26th November we left Calcutta, and reached Port Blair on the 2nd December. A number of Andamanese were waiting on Ross Island anxiously looking forward to the arrival of the *Tubal Cain* and party with me, and great were the demonstrations of delight when they saw them all safely return again. The Home

became a scene of wildest revelry, singing and dancing continuing night and day for upwards of a fortnight, during which all the Calcutta adventures were glowingly related, and the effect produced was that, day after day, they entreated me to take them all to Calcutta and had the option been offered to them, the whole tribe would have been willing to accompany me.

A most unfortunate occurrence had happened during our absence. The South Tribe had been giving trouble and robbing the Settlement plantations near Haddo, and the Convict Police had exemplified their zeal by shooting one man and wounding a woman. Colonel Tytler enquired into the case, obtaining, however, only the convict's version of the story, and cautioned them to be more forbearing in future, and never to use their fire-arms, except in self-defence and under extreme necessity. The woman was brought to Ross Island and remained for some months under my care, but died at length from the effect of her wounds, which had been too long neglected.

On the 9th December, I proceeded with Colonel Tytler to Rangoon and Moulmein, six Andamanese accompanying us, who were required to act as guides in our contemplated visit to some islands to the northward.

Nothing worthy of note occurred in these visits, except that, on the voyage, the Andamanese rendered most useful and indeed indispensable service in supplying the want of a sufficient crew on board the Settlement Steamer *Diana*. Through some unaccountable neglect or oversight, the *Diana* had left Rangoon on her voyage to Moulmein and Port Blair without a sufficient number of men to work her, and it was found impossible to heave up the anchor, and to perform many other necessary duties of the ship without the assistance of the Andamanese, which, I am bound to say, was cheerfully rendered, though they were severely over-worked and deprived of their rest at night through the exertions imposed upon them.

In the beginning of this year (1864), the South Tribe renewed their depredations, but with much more caution, avoiding the armed police and escaping into the jungles whenever they appeared; they seemed to obtain intelligence by some means, while the police were

still at a distance, that they were approaching. The latter could not succeed in finding them, and never knew when or where to expect them, for they continually changed their positions to elude the police, and appeared successively in quite different directions where they knew the Native convicts would be least prepared to receive them. In this manner, not only was great damage done to the Settlement plantations, but serious loss was sustained by the convict self-supporters whose gardens were completely cleared of all their produce. Colonel Tytler felt the necessity of taking effective measures to oppose these lawless proceedings, but there appeared no means of putting a stop to them without actual collision with the tribe, resulting, probably, in bloodshed. He was most anxious to avoid this ; and I begged him to enjoin the police not to shoot any of them, but to lie in ambush and endeavour, if possible, to capture them.

A few days following two of the ring-leaders, known now as Moriarty and Sandys Sahib, were seized, and Colonel Tytler put them in irons and placed them under my care. As I had expected, some of their friends soon came to visit them, and I sent a message by them to their tribe that the prisoners were to be kept in close custody as a security for their future good behaviour, and that they should be severely punished if any of the Native convicts at the outposts were again molested.

These measures and warnings were more effectual in restraining their aggressive movements than the slaughter of half the tribe would have been ; for, finding themselves foiled and fearing that we should retaliate upon the prisoners if they gave us further provocation, they left the neighbourhood.

On my second expedition to Port Mouat, when returning late one evening through MacPherson's Straits, we saw the fires of the aborigines, and as soon as the steamer was anchored, I started in a small boat to visit their encampment. We arrived opposite to it about 8 P.M. and hailed them, but instead of replying they extinguished their fires and retreated into the woods. Topsy and an Andamanese child, who were with me, now tried their persuasions. They assured the other aborigines that they had nothing to apprehend

from us, that we were unarmed, that it was only myself, Myjolah, who had come to visit them, that the only other persons in the boat were the Native crew, and, moreover, that we had coconuts and rice in abundance, and other presents for them.

These assurances satisfied them, and they commenced to wade out towards us, calling out to us to bring the boat nearer; I replied that this was impossible, as the shore was rocky and my boat had already struck against a rock, and that I was afraid on that account to approach any nearer, and asked them why they had extinguished their fires. They said that they would at once relight them and come out to us in a canoe, and in a quarter of an hour they came,—a woman steering with a paddle, and four men pulling: I filled their canoe with coconuts, bags of grain, beads, knives, looking-glasses, and other presents with which two of them returned: the woman and two men accompanying us to the steamer. Next morning I again visited the camp without guard or attendants, and the aborigines, delighted with the presents which I had left with them the night before, gave me a most welcome reception, promising that if any Europeans (Ahboojing-eejidur) ever fell into their hands, they would bring them to the Settlement.

(The last remark shows how much of Mr. Corbyn's notes regarding the sayings and doings of the aborigines was evolved from his own imagination. "*Bojig-ngiji*-da" means "aborigines," and the people were evidently talking about themselves, he not understanding a word of the conversation.—*M.V.P.*)

During the month of February, 1864, the number of aborigines of both tribes on the Settlement was upwards of forty; who were daily employed in work with Native convicts, (which should never have been permitted.—*M. V. P.*), clearing sites, making thatching and bamboo frame-work, and helping in other ways in the construction of their own houses, piggeries, and cattle sheds; but soon severe illness began to prevail amongst them, and various causes combined to render them dissatisfied with their condition and treatment here. The monthly allowance for their support did not suffice for their wants, and Colonel Tytler admitted that in return for their labour

which was quite equal to that of Native convicts, they were even entitled to a larger allowance. They, moreover, complained of other discomforts. The Andaman Home was no longer tenantable, and their only dwelling was a small cow-shed, which they shared with cattle, sleeping on a raised bamboo machan above them.

(It is not understood, when he saw how objectionable it was, why Mr. Corbyn allowed such a state of things. The Andamanese should have been permitted to make one of their own villages, in which, in a sheltered spot, they would have been perfectly happy.—*M.V.P.*)

They were also impatient of the presence of a Convict Guard over them, who watched and restricted their movements, not allowing them the liberty of walking about the island except at certain times, and attended by them to restrain them from doing any mischief. Four of them died here; but still nothing could be done to improve their quarters, (!) or better their condition. (All this is not understood. Certain subsequent correspondence shows that Mr. Corbyn and the new Superintendent Major Ford were not on good terms, but there is nothing to show that Major Ford was not anxious to treat the aborigines well; indeed, a letter of his quoted below shows that he did not approve of the repression exercised over the Andamanese by Mr. Corbyn.—*M.V.P.*)

The South Tribe men were continually instigating the others to escape; (Escape from what? Mr. Corbyn has hitherto said that they were under no restrictions.—*M. V. P.*), and at length, notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the guard, the prisoners, as well as nearly all the others, succeeded in doing so; one of the former, Sandys Sahib, swimming in his irons to the mainland, and only Jumbo and Topsy were left, and finally they also escaped (!), and the latter most unfortunately was drowned in attempting to swim to the mainland. Such a *finale* of all our hopes and efforts was indeed melancholy and disheartening, and every one predicted that we should see nothing more of the Andamanese, and that it was hopeless to attempt to do anything more with them. But I renewed the attempt, supported and encouraged by Major Ford in doing so. It occurred to me that as soon as the North Tribe knew

that Jumbo had escaped (!) they would decamp and go to some other part of the islands, and it was therefore desirable to see them, and endeavour to persuade some of the more influential of them to return to the Settlement before they had ascertained this circumstance, which would not be for several days, as Jumbo had swam from this island to the south of Aberdeen, and would therefore be many days journeying so far as the North Tribe encampment. In pursuance of this design, I went to the jungles supplied with a week's provisions, and took up a position on the coast about eight or nine miles northward, where I remained five days. The plan quite succeeded; for I drew round me several Andamanese, and at last Jumbo also came into my encampment, and he and the rest returned with me to Ross Island.

I am happy to state that now the good understanding with them has been completely restored, and we are on the best of terms with them. Jumbo was kept here a few days and then sent back to the mainland, and he now by his own wish remains at the North Outpost Home established for them on the mainland. All the others who formerly escaped, including the prisoners Moriarty and Sandys Sahib of the South Tribe, are at the present moment on this island, all having returned of their own accord, in number thirty-eight, but no longer under any restriction (!) for they are not watched by parawallahs, and are at liberty to return to the mainland and their own homes whenever they are so disposed,—a liberty of which they freely avail themselves, but do not leave us altogether, for they generally return after a few days' absence, swimming across, or in canoes which I have provided for them.

As soon as a ship now appears in port they swim to it and beg for plantains; and if pice, of which they now know the use and appreciate the value, are thrown to them, they dive to a great depth for them,—even the small children being very successful at these feats.

We are making some use of them now in trying to recover escaped convicts by their means, and though the experiment has not yet been quite successful, there is sufficient reason to hope that it will be; and

the convicts, amongst whom the report has already spread that we are sending the aborigines into the jungles after runaways, will be deterred from trying to escape, by fear of having such rough police to deal with, and we may hope, therefore, that much less will now be heard of such escapes which have been so frequent lately. Crusoe and another man of his tribe were sent southward, by Major Ford's desire, to search for three Burmans who had not been heard of for a month, and one of whom left armed with a musket. A written order closed and sealed in which the Burmans were required to return immediately, and informed that the Andamanese had been sent in search of them, was put into Crusoe's hands, and he was told to deliver it to them. I then took him to the South Outpost Home, gave in charge of the Tolidar of that Outpost beads, knives, and other presents, which Crusoe was informed were to be given to him as soon as he returned with the convicts; and having supplied him and his companion with rice for seven days consumption, a cooking pot, box of matches, and also bows and arrows, which I cautioned them on no account to use against the Burmans, despatched them on their mission. In three days they returned without the Burmans whom they declared they had searched for in vain all over the main-land, but dragging after them an unfortunate convict self-supporter whom they had found some distance to the south, hunting pigs, and threatened to shoot if he did not immediately follow them. Crusoe claimed the reward which the Tolidar refused, telling him that he had not earned it, as the Bengalee before them was not a runaway and evidently not a Burman. (Crusoe should have been given a reward.—*M. V. P.*) I doubt, however, if Crusoe went so far to the south as was pretended, for others whom I wished to accompany him demurred, fearing to encounter a tribe in the south, whom they call "Jarrahwadder" (Jàrawa-da), their name for their own tribe is "Eleahwadder" (not understood,? "descended from Chána Élé-wàdi), and for the natives of the Archipelago Islands "Ballawadder". (Balawa-da);—the latter they describe as not having a language, and being extremely ferocious; they are a tribe of whom absolutely nothing is known.

(Here Mr. Corbyn has evidently misunderstood Crusoe, who probably told him that the Balawa-da did not talk the language he did. They are the mildest of all the tribes, and were known to the Áka-*Béa*-da, whom they used to meet at Kyd Island.—*M. V. P.*)

A very creditable act of humanity on the part of the North Tribe aborigines, which was lately related to me by a Native convict who was the object of it, deserves to be recorded. This man, a Punjabee boatman, escaped from this Settlement with some other convicts in November, and travelled many miles northward till they came to a clearance in the interior, as extensive, he says, as Chatham, where was a large Andamanese encampment. (No such clearance existed.—*M. V. P.*)

Here these convicts remained a few days, kindly treated by the aborigines, but he became very ill and his companions left him. The Andamanese, more merciful than the convicts, administered various remedies and treated him most kindly, and finding that he showed no symptoms of recovery, three of them took him up and bearing him upon their shoulders carried him every day considerable distances along the coast till, in eight days' march, they brought him to North Point. Arrived there, they hailed a boat and asked the boatmen to bring them also to Ross Island, but their request was refused, and they went away unrequited for an act of mercy which cannot be too much extolled, or too long remembered in their favour. (If true.—*M. V. P.*)

I have already made allusion to the establishment of two Outpost Homes on the mainland, the object of which is to promote intercourse and friendly intimacy with the aborigines. Clearances of land have been made, and two buildings erected.

I have hopes of our being able to induce the Andamanese to cultivate the soil and render other useful services to us.

H. CORBYN.

PORT BLAIR;
The 16th May, 1864.

(This cultivation of the soil by the Andamanese has been an *ignis fatuus* to many officers. It is impossible to turn, by an order, or in a few years, or even in one generation, a hunting and nomadic, into a pastoral people. The labour of clearing, and keeping cleared, the jungle would be far too great for the Andamanese. They prefer, as food, the products of the chase to the products of the soil, and their dirty habits do not permit them to remain very long in one place.—*M.V.P.*)

The following letter shows the circumstances which led to the application for the present grant-in-aid of R200 per mensem to the Andaman Home.

Letter, No. 19, from the Revd. Henry Corbyn, Chaplain of Port Blair, to Major B. Ford, Officiating Superintendent of Port Blair. Dated, Ross Island, the 20th May, 1864.

"The expenses of supporting the Andamanese under my care having greatly increased, since the establishment of two Homes for them on the mainland, I am obliged to beg of you to render me increased assistance in carrying out the views and wishes of Government for their civilization, pending the reply of Government to my application for a larger allowance.

"On the date of my last report to Government, 16th instant, there were no less than thirty-eight aborigines of the North and South Tribes on this island, dependent on the funds of the Home for their diet and clothing; and, in addition to these, forty have to be daily fed on the mainland on grain, purchased at the Commissariat stores, at a cost quite equal to that of the laboring convicts.

"It cannot be expected that, with all the other miscellaneous expenses of the Home, I can continue to support, in food and clothing, such a large and daily increasing number of the aborigines on the present monthly allowance; the expense of clothing them alone would be so considerable an item that, in consequence of my inability to meet it, many of them are obliged to go naked. (There could have been no need to feed the people on the mainland on grain. The only reason why the Andamanese in the Homes at the present day are fed by the Home is because their time is taken up in working for the

Government, and they have no leisure to procure their own food. Also a small loin cloth, which would not have been very expensive, would have been ample clothing for the savages, for whom too much clothing is not desirable—*M.V.P.*)

"You will have seen, from my accounts rendered to you, how large a sum I have advanced out of my own private funds to defray expenses already incurred on behalf of the Home,—incurred, it is true, on my own responsibility, but with views and for objects which I believed the result would justify, and Government would at some future time approve, so persuaded was I of their importance that, if it had been necessary to have incurred those expenses without aid from Government, I should not have hesitated to do so; and indeed, it will be seen from my accounts that, though the expenses of the Home commenced in the month of June, no part of the Government allowance was paid to me till late in November, when I received ₹100, and again on the 8th December, five months arrears of allowances due, which could not be drawn sooner because it hadnot been sanctioned.

"I am sure Government will not wish me to sustain more pecuniary loss, through my having voluntarily undertaken duties which, in themselves, are sufficiently onerous.

"Before my application for an increased allowance to the Home can be laid before Government and their reply received, much time will elapse. In the meantime, I beg of you, as the Superintendent of this Settlement, to render me all possible assistance in meeting the demands of our improved relations, and advancing intercourse with both tribes of the aborigines in the neighbourhood of the Settlement.

"Should you not feel authorized to render pecuniary aid, in anticipation of Government sanction, there are other ways in which you can materially help to diminish the expense of the Home, and to support the aborigines.

"I beg leave to indicate some of them—

"*1st.*—It is advertised that there will be a sale by auction next Wednesday, at the Commissariat Store-rooms, of "cargo rice" in-

tended for the Government elephants, but now not required, which is unfit for convicts' food, (though if the bazaar convicts, self-supporting "bunneahs," buy it, they will probably sell it again to the labouring convicts, mixed with good rice), but would be very much appreciated by people like the aborigines, who are accustomed to coarse fare, and, therefore, are not so likely to be impaired in health by it. As it is expected that this rice will not realise one-fourth of its value, its sale would be a loss to Government, but its distribution amongst the poor Andamanese would serve a useful and merciful purpose.

"*2nd.*—I have also heard that there will soon be condemned bullocks for disposal? These would be of great use to the Andamanese on the mainland.

"*3rd.*—All cattle which die from disease, or other natural causes, might be sent to the outposts for their sustenance. Colonel Tytler formerly issued an order, which has not been carried out for many months past, that all cattle dying naturally, after being landed on this Island, should be forthwith conveyed to the mainland and left there for the aborigines.

"I am happy to inform you that the aborigines at North Outpost have quite altered their manner and behaviour towards the convicts there. The Tolidar informs me that they give them more than they take from them, sharing with the convicts fruit which they bring in from the jungles, and fish of considerable size, three or four feet in length, which they obtain in great abundance. He is now gently and gradually leading them to work; and endeavouring to make them understand that they must earn the food which we give them; they still continue to bring their bows and arrows, but only to shoot fish with."

Major Ford, in forwarding the above letter, and Mr. Corbyn's third Narrative to the Government of India, writes in letter No. 20A., dated the 6th June, 1864:—

"I have the honor to forward, enclosed, the continuation of Mr. Corbyn's third Narrative, which takes up his account of events occurring with the Andaman tribes during February last, on the 15th

of which month I assumed officiating charge of this Settlement. Mr. Corbyn records now, that, shortly afterwards the Andamanese, who I found here, some forty in number, including women and children, all escaped to the mainland, swimming over to North or South Points; it was in the last attempt of this kind that Topsy, (the wife of Jumbo), who had often before evinced a most friendly and trusting disposition towards the British, was drowned; her body was found a day or two after at South Point,—she had been in ill-health and most probably had not strength to gain the opposite shore.

2. "After carefully considering all circumstances connected with these escapes, and having previously observed the system hitherto adopted for the management of the Andamanese here, I came to the conclusion that it was impolitic to restrain them on Ross Island; that they must be free to go and come amongst us; but as this might in time, and as confidence increased, lead to the visits of larger numbers than it would be safe to have here on Ross Island, and whose care and attendance would involve a larger expenditure of convict labour and duty than the Settlement, with such a press of public works as is at present the case, can afford, I determined for these and some other considerations, all adding weight to my decision, but not necessary to record here, to cause two outpost 'Homes' to be formed, and accompanied by Mr. Corbyn, selected two localities, each at the head of a small cove,—one on the north, and the other on the south mainland shore, situated at about the same distance (three or four miles) from Ross Island, where, at each, I have given materials for the construction of a large hut, and have stationed two armed police, and a small working party; some six (from the Andaman Home) orderlies who have been accustomed to, and get on well with, the aborigines, and a small boat for their communication. Here they have been supplied with as tock of provisions, a few presents, etc., with which they feed and conciliate any Andamanese visitors; any of whom, wishing to visit Mr. Corbyn or myself, are at liberty to find their way over to Ross in a small canoe stationed at each out-post for this purpose. They are then allowed to stay a day or two, if they like, at the Andaman Home, which I have removed

from the old site to one more under Mr. Corbyn's eye, and not quite so public,—a necessary arrangement, having now several married Christian women here. It will be necessary temporarily to withdraw or reduce the strength of the party at the outposts during the south-west monsoon, when bad weather may often render it a matter of difficulty to keep up supplies of food, etc., for a large party, as also to provide medical aid.

"3. As stated by Mr. Corbyn, I have endeavoured to utilise the Andamanese, by trying through them to recapture some recently escaped convicts; they have not as yet been successful. It is something, however, to have got them to understand, as they now do, that I will reward them for bringing in anyone who they find beyond our Settlement, if they bring him *unharmed*.

"4. In conclusion, I beg to bring to the favourable notice of Government, the unwearied exertions of Mr. Corbyn to improve our good understanding with the people of these islands,—in so doing I beg to submit a copy of his letter to me, urging an increase to the Andaman Home allowance to R200 a month, which I beg respectfully to recommend may be granted,—principally that he may have some means wherewith to start a school for such Andamanese children whose parents can be induced to let them remain somewhat longer on Ross Island, where I propose it should be established; and which will doubtless, be a further means towards the civilizing of these people, and extending our influence amongst their tribes."

(It was afterwards found that a school on Ross Island was a mistake, as the children were too closely associated with the soldiers and convicts, and learnt to drink, and a number of other bad habits.—*M. V. P.*)

It is due to Mr. Corbyn that his own accounts of his dealings with the Andamanese should be given, and I therefore publish them in full, but on Major Ford taking charge of the Settlement he found it necessary to make changes in the Andaman Home which led to Mr. Corbyn's resignation of the charge of it, and on the 22nd June, 1864, Mr. J. N. Homfray was appointed to the charge in his place.

What should have led Mr. Corbyn to suspect that all was not going well in the Home was that, on the 1st March, 1864, all the Andamanese who had been staying in it escaped by swimming to the mainland. Mr. Corbyn went to the northward in the *Diana* to look for them and caught five of the Northern Tribe, and one of the Southern, thus showing that he considered them to be under some sort of restraint. On the 10th, the officers of the *Diana* had a friendly interview with some of the Southern Tribe, and it became evident that they did not dislike us personally, but they objected to the semi-captivity in which they were kept on Ross Island.

On the 26th March, 1864, the dead body of an Andamanese woman was found lying on South Point beach. The remains could not be identified, but were said at the time to be those of Topsy, the wife of Jumbo, who had done so much good service for us. She was in ill-health when she escaped from Ross, and is believed to have been drowned in swimming across.

Mr. Corbyn remarked that it was very difficult to induce the Andamanese to remain with us. Jumbo was put in irons by him for running away, and swam across to the mainland in these. Major Ford objected to this restraint, or to irons being put on the Andamanese at all, and opened two Homes for the aborigines on the mainland, at Lekera-Bárnga, and South Corbyn's Cove. Three trusty convicts, accustomed to the Andamanese, were kept in these, and a store of condemned grain, biscuits, etc., to be used as presents. Any Andamanese who came to these Homes was allowed to remain as long as he liked, and was fed. If the aborigines wanted to come to Ross, on lighting a signal fire at the nearest point opposite on the mainland, a canoe was sent over for them.

On one occasion Major Ford went in the *Diana* to North Bay and was hailed by two "runaway" Andamanese women, Harriett of the South Tribe, and Annie of the North Tribe, who willingly came on board, and went on to Port Meadows, Middle Strait, Port Campbell, Port Mouat, Redskin Island, where there had shortly before been a friendly meeting between our people and the Andamanese of the South Tribe, and Jollyboys' Island. The party returned

through MacPherson's Straits. Very few Andamanese were seen on this trip, but those who were met with (and who, of course, were all members of the Áka-*Béa*-da tribe) were all friendly.

At this time an allowance of R200 per mensem for the Andaman Homes was granted by the Government of India in Letter No. 1670, dated 28th July, 1864.

During the months of December, 1863, and January, 1864, the summit of Mount Harriet was cleared, and a road made to it. The Government of India enjoined great caution on all the parties employed on this work, and ordered that any collection of Andamanese in their neighbourhood should be discouraged as much as possible and intercourse with them prevented when not indispensable, as, seeing the tools in use, the Andamanese would be tempted to steal them, and thus disputes would be caused.

On the 2nd April, 1864, the Settlement was placed under the orders of the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, and attached to the Tenasserim Commissionership; and on the 7th of the month, Major General the Hon'ble Sir R. Napier, K.C.B., visited Port Blair officially. He approved of what was being done with regard to the aborigines. Towards the end of 1863 the treatment of the Andamanese by Mr. Corbyn seems to have suffered some unexplained change. The attention of the Government was drawn to this on the 15th January, 1864, when they note that they had formerly thought that the Andamanese under Mr. Corbyn were remaining voluntarily in the Settlement, and consider it doubtful whether any good can be expected from forcibly detaining the people, as it now appeared Mr. Corbyn's object to do. Major Ford was requested to report on the line of conduct Mr. Corbyn had now adopted towards these Andamanese, the majority of whom, it will be remembered, were originally induced by friendly overtures to come into the Settlement.

It would seem as if Mr. Corbyn was impatient with the Andamanese for not more readily taking to the mode of life he prescribed for them, and for adhering to their own customs; and he endeavoured by restraint and harsh treatment to compel them to do as he wished.

On the 31st May, 1864, the Government of India further note

that Jumbo had been put in irons for running away, and entirely disapprove of this proceeding.

They directed Mr. Corbyn to submit a Report of his proceedings with the Andamanese every month, and he somewhat surprised them by remarking that, "making friends with the Andamanese increased the number of escapes, as the convicts could now wander anywhere with impunity." The Government at once called on the Superintendent for a report on this matter, and Major Ford suggested that the Andamanese should be encouraged to recapture the runaway convicts, and bring them in unharmed, and that a reward should be given for every convict so brought in.

This suggestion was acted on from then till the present day, and the Andamanese in return for the benefits and attention they have received from us, have acted as a sort of jungle police.

Mr. Corbyn, however, objected to this proposal, on the ground that it would give the Andamanese a "police control" over the convicts, and they would then ill-use them, and let loose "their worst passions." In the meantime, an occurrence took place at the North Outpost which caused all friendly relations with the Andamanese to be broken off. On the 12th June, 1864, two of the Andamanese visiting at the North Home, got angry with the Sub-Gangsman in charge there, because he would not give them all the food they wanted, and going out of the hut they were in with him, fired on him, wounding him twice; from the effects of these wounds he subsequently died. The Andamanese then ran away, and fired on some other convicts who were in their path, wounding one of them; these convicts closed round them to prevent their escape, when they wounded three more, and, dropping their bows and arrows, eluded the remainder and fled into the jungle. One of these wounded men also died from the effects of his injuries. The Andamanese aggressors were Jacko and Moriarty, who had always been well treated by us. There were other Andamanese men, and also women and children present, but they took no part in the affair which was entirely confined to the above-mentioned two. Major Ford intended to keep a small party at these outpost Homes during the south-west monsoon, but owing

to this occurrence he closed them altogether, and withdrew the convicts stationed there. He further ordered that no favour of any kind should be conferred on the Andamanese, and that those who visited us for the next three months should be treated with coldness. He stated, in reporting the matter to the Government of India, that this occurrence was much to be regretted, as the Andamanese were apparently never before so friendly. He objected to their restraint on Ross, and said that the Andaman Home had to be removed from its public position, on account of the Christian women on Ross who were offended by the sight of the Andamanese, and had been put in a more private place, under Mr. Corbyn's eye. On the 30th July, 1864, the Andamanese wished to resume friendly relations, but food was refused to all except children. After the affair at North Camp on the 12th June, they sent over two children to Mr. Corbyn and these were allowed to be fed, and were then sent away. This was evidently a "feeler" on the part of the Andamanese, and was seen to be so by Major Ford, who did not approve of it. The next day Jumbo and Jacko swam over, and Mr. Corbyn wanted to arrest them, but as we had attracted them by our own act on the previous day, of giving food to the children, Major Ford refused to allow this as it would look like treachery. He also refused Mr. Corbyn's request to give them food, and ordered them to be taken to the beach and told to go. Mr. Corbyn said that they told him that neither of them had anything to do with the North Camp affair, but Major Ford replied that Tolidar Gilbur Singh, with his dying breath had said that Jacko shot him. It also appeared afterwards that Jacko was the man who had shot Pratt, for which Jumbo and Snowball were unjustly punished. While this was going on, a party of about twenty Andamanese were swimming over from North Point to Ross, and being met by these two returning, all of them turned back to Aberdeen. While they were in the water a child of about ten years of age was washed ashore on Ross near Brigade Point and drowned. The party was followed by Mr. Homfray who had them escorted beyond Aberdeen into the jungle and told to go away.

Later on, a party of between twenty and thirty again swam from

North Point to Aberdeen with bows and arrows. They were met by the Overseer there, and quietly escorted to the jungle as before. They seemed submissive and dejected. Major Ford thought that during the south-west monsoon they suffered from hunger, and felt the want of the food we used to give them, and hoped that "our present attitude may thus do good in the end."

Some Burmese convicts, who had escaped, returned of their own accord about this time and stated that the Andamanese made them and other runaways hunt pigs for them, and kept them hard at work till exhausted, laughing at them the while: the convicts, of course, being terrified. When they were emaciated and feeble, they were either brought back to the Settlement, or simply released by the Andamanese, who used to cut and wound the men to make them work. They thought nothing of wounding people on the slightest provocation. Many convicts died of exhaustion in the jungle, and there is no instance of any other being treated as Dudhnáth was.

The Government of India, having the example of Pratt's case before them, suspected that the murder of the Outpost Gangsman, Gilbur Singh, was not entirely unprovoked, and called for a report on the same. Major Ford was, however, certain that no provocation was given to Jacko. The Gangsman would not allow the Andamanese to enter the upper story of the hut where the food was kept, and when they tried to steal some coconuts he half raised his musket, this being the usual and most effectual mode of intimidating them. As soon as his back was turned he was shot. Mr. Corbyn agreed that the Gangsman was quite right in what he did, and thought that the Andamanese had a hatred of all Asiatics generally, caused by the petty (?) provocations they had suffered from them. I have learnt from the Andamanese that Major Ford's account of the murder of Gilbur Singh was quite correct, and that no other provocation, than that of refusing to give him food, was given to Jacko, who is described as being an ill-tempered and violent savage. It should be remembered that the Andamanese think nothing of murdering each other on similar provocation. (The Andamanese names of Jacko, and Moriarty, were, Jacko-Biala; Moriarty-Bāūra.) Mr. Homfray also, who had been in the Settlement

since 1858, and who succeeded Mr. Corbyn in the charge of the Andaman Home, gave me many facts regarding this period of our administration before he died in 1883.

During July, 1864, Port Mouat was examined and partially surveyed, and Major Ford recommended its occupation. He stated that the Andamanese there were friendly, and that Crusoe and Friday, formerly prisoners at Moulmein, and now very well disposed towards us, were living there. He also pointed out that, by occupying the neck of land between Port Blair and Port Mouat, we should cut off the southern portion of the South Andaman, and thus check the Andamanese from crossing. He recommended that the work should be commenced on November 1st, and that Mr. Homfray should be put in charge of it, and relinquish his post of Harbour Master. He also asked for a lighthouse to be placed either on Grub Island or on the Southern entrance of the Inner Harbour. The Government of India did not at that time accede to this proposal. Anything savouring of cutting off portions of land, or, as formerly proposed by Dr. Walker, with regard to Port Mouat, driving the Andamanese out of a portion of the Great Andaman, too closely resembled our treatment of the aborigines of Tasmania to be acceptable to the Government.

Major Ford having been called upon for an expression of his opinion regarding the line of conduct adopted by Mr. Corbyn towards the Andamanese, replied in letter No. 54A, dated 11th August, 1864, as follows:—

After saying that the question of our relations with the Andamanese was one of the most difficult with which the Superintendent had to deal, he wrote:—

"3. I will premise my report by here referring to the Revd. Mr. Corbyn's "Narrative of Events," dated Ross Island, 2nd June, 1863, wherein he remarks on the Andamanese Jumbo and Snowball who appear to have been taken prisoners consequent on the death of Naval Brigadesman Pratt, (who was killed by certain Andamanese). These prisoners had for several months been detained in fetters at the Naval Barracks under a guard of the Naval Brigade. Here I beg to remark that the man now called 'Jumbo' is not the man known

by that name formerly in the Brigade, who was a man marked with a scar on the right cheek.

"When Pratt was killed a prow was here, and the Malay crew were sent over with a promise of reward to catch the Andamanese supposed to be concerned. They went, and in four days brought over eighteen people, from whom were picked two; the original Jumbo was of the party, but one Hamilton, Colonel Tytler's orderly, pointed out another man as Jumbo, who with Snowball, (since drowned), were made prisoners, and the original Jumbo, with fifteen more, was released. (This 'original Jumbo' was afterwards known to Mr. Corbyn as Jacko, and was the man who really murdered Pratt for trying to rape his wife.—*M. V. P.*)

"4. These prisoners, Snowball and Jumbo, are reported to have been kept 'several months in fetters' at the Naval Brigade barracks. These men were, I am informed, at night chained to the station signal gun with heavy brass shackles, having also leg irons on; the brass shackles were removed by day. There is not a man in the Brigade, (I am told so by themselves), who believes that either Jumbo or Snowball had anything to do with Pratt's death.

"5. On my arrival here I found some forty Andamanese on Ross Island at Mr. Corbyn's Andaman Home; visiting these people a few days after I found one South Tribe man in irons,—the whole party were, as I learnt after, kept under considerable restraint by a large number of convict 'parawallahs' about the Home, and a day or two after Colonel Tytler left the Settlement, Mr. Corbyn apprised me of the 'escape' during the night of several of the Andamanese prisoners amongst whom were four of the principal men of the South Tribe—a tribe he was particularly anxious to keep under restraint, who he wished to keep as hostages, and one of whom was 'shackled.' Mr. Corbyn stated the reason for this to be that they had killed many convicts, (though on enquiry I could not obtain any direct evidence against this particular tribe in this respect), only 'that they pillaged the Settlement plantations and had recently attacked a party of Officers and Brigadesmen at Port Mouat.' This escape was effected in spite of the 'strict watch' of the Parawallahs ordered by Mr.

Corbyn over the Andamanese day and night, who were 'on no account to let them leave the premises without my (Mr. Corbyn's) permission.'—To my mind, on hearing of these circumstances, it was clear that this 'restraint,' opposite to their mode of life, was so irksome that they could no longer bear it, even for the food and tobacco given them to induce them to be quiet.

"6. Mr. Corbyn, in writing to me on this subject on February, 29th, says 'of one fact I am quite convinced that, unless we forcibly detain hostages of all the tribes we shall give free license to a reckless and unreasoning people to damage and destroy wherever their impulse leads them, and to continually provoke bloodshed. Those who have been forcibly detained have been detained for sufficient reasons, of the fitness and force of which Colonel Tytler, considering my profession a pledge of just treatment, left me to be the judge.'

"7. Some Andamanese still remained at the Home, but at 10-30 on the 1st March Mr. Corbyn wrote to me 'all the Andamanese have made their escape except Jumbo and Topsy, the two latter I discovered on the point of following and arrested them.' Mr. Corbyn followed them to North Point, to which place the escaped had swum, there leaving Topsy, 'whom I warned,' he writes, 'that if the escaped Andamanese did not make their appearance to-morrow we should inflict summary chastisement on Jumbo.'

"On the 2nd March, Mr. Corbyn informed me that he 'had captured one of the South Tribe'; he added, 'I think it really necessary that Jumbo should be put in heavy irons, he was very violent last night and made such resistance that five men could not hold him. If Jumbo escapes, our influence with the North Tribe is gone and we shall hear of more tragedies like Pratt's murder. (Why? *That* was not the fault of the Andamanese.—*M. V. P.*) I propose one evil to avoid a greater,' but this course, I informed him, I was opposed to, and could not consent to. Jumbo gave as his reason for his former escape that 'he had been beaten by a Native.'

"8. On the 7th March, Mr. Corbyn reported his return with Jumbo who he took with him, from a search made towards Port Meadows, having brought back with him five Andamanese of the

North Tribe, and one of the escaped Andamanese of the South Tribe. While Mr. Corbyn was away, some Andamanese, who with Topsy had again returned to Ross Island, again made their escape.

"9. On his return I apprised him that I had heard that the dead body of a woman had been seen on South Point; he went over with some aborigines, but it could not be identified. The body was buried. As I reported to Government, it turned out afterwards that the remains were those of Topsy. Why she should have escaped while her husband was absent with Mr. Corbyn was strange. The day before the last batch escaped, (29th February), they complained to Mr. Corbyn that some Natives belonging to a Chudia Brig, repairing some damages in this port, had beaten them, 'and this cause,' Mr. Corbyn wrote, 'seems to have instigated them to escape this time.' I do not think this likely however; the crew of the brig, a few of the very inoffensive people of Nagore, whose craft had run into the *Lady Canning*, at night, on her way over here, and who, being all overboard, we saved from drowning, would be in my opinion the very last in the Settlement to have done anything of the kind. There were many rumours at this time of the severity of the 'parawallahs' over the Andamanese, towards them, and in my own mind the opinion has always been strong that these people by their harshness or worse drove Topsy and others with her to escape, but that being weak at the time, she took to the water for the nearest (south) point, and had not strength to reach it alive. It is proper here to say that it was not known for many days after that Topsy was drowned. Mr. Corbyn's own impression was that the remains were those of a young woman called Annie, but whom we have lately seen here. Jumbo, as I have said, was brought back. Jumbo is a Chief among his own people, (while he is in our hands it may always be considered certain that we have others of his tribe, and their relations, coming here, wishing to be with him). By the 23rd April we had again 17 Andamanese on Ross Island, and on that date Mr. Corbyn wrote to me, 'the Andamanese are again all trying to escape.' In deference to Mr. Corbyn's experience I had hitherto, being a stranger to these people and their habits, refrained from interference with his system of

management of them, but from these continued escapes, and the aversion of the Andamanese to remain on Ross Island, it had now become clear to me, that we were pursuing a wrong system towards them, and that all restraint must be removed, or we should make enemies instead of friends of them. I had already forbidden any further use of fetters, and I came to the determination of establishing Outpost Homes on the mainland for them."

"10. The sites for these Homes I settled, accompanied by Mr. Corbyn, on the 9th and 13th April. When, therefore, Mr. Corbyn wrote to me on the 23rd that the Andamanese were trying to escape, I gave him directions as to the course which I wished pursued; *viz.*, that they all be set at liberty,—the camps shown to them, and their freedom to make future use of them explained. Mr. Corbyn had now given up his old view as formerly written to me, that 'he was convinced of the necessity for the forcible detention of hostages,' and had been led now into my view as to the future management of these people, as he now wrote, 'the result of my experience (of a year) is, that we cannot keep them forcibly in this island, that if we succeeded in doing so we should only embitter them against ourselves.' On the same day he also wrote, 'I agree with you it will be better to lose no time in releasing Jumbo and any others that wish to go, for it will give them renewed confidence, and when they see they are no longer under restraint, they may be willing to return.' In the conclusion of this letter, Mr. Corbyn shows that a fight with the Parawallahs is apprehended if the Andamanese were not sent away. This pretty clearly indicates violence on previous occasions, to which I refer in paragraph 9 of this letter, and shews what restraints must on former occasions have been put on these people who were wishing to go back to their homes.

"11. From this time forward, and until the 12th June, our friendly relations with the Andamanese, and their confidence in us increased very satisfactorily, and with an unprecedented success. Larger numbers than ever came before visited us on Ross Island, and were more tractable and good-humoured than they ever were known to be hitherto. Mr. Corbyn most good-naturedly put up with the great

inconvenience that these constant and numerous visitors must have been to him, and all went well till the three convicts were shot by two Andamanese at North Outpost, and I felt myself necessitated to break off for a time our friendship with them."

Major Ford then added that, after a careful consideration of our past work with the Andamanese, "he is led to doubt whether the efforts made to be friendly with them were not overdone, and the indulgence and gratification afforded to their appetites, in the amount of food given them, did not act prejudicially—certain it is that, with this daily indulgence, a boldness of manner grew on them, and led them to an impudence of demeanour and an independent swagger that I had never noticed in them hitherto. (They had left off cringing, and resumed their real manner—*M. V. P.*).

"In my humble opinion, Mr. Corbyn was too lavish of the (to them) good things and comforts he had for them, they (to use his own expression) got 'accustomed' to them, expected at once to be supplied with what they asked for, and became peevish or angry if refused. It was in an occurrence of this kind that the three convicts were killed at North Outpost.

"14. It will be seen that, when forcible detention of these Andamanese was first made use of by Mr. Corbyn, he made use of it under sanction; it was put a stop to by my desire, and he was afterwards led by circumstances to agree with me, and to see that no good could result from such a course. Personally, he has been most patient and kind to the Andamanese, and persevered at great risk of life, health, and strength, in his humane efforts to win their confidence and advance them; and in the above respect I regret that he has resigned his charge of them. He, however, found the charge, he says, ruining his health, and interfering too much with his other duties to continue to hold singly."

After giving some further personal explanations, Major Ford stated his own views with regard to the Andamanese.

"17. We shall never be able, I think, to do much to *civilize* the adult Andamanese that we now know; if we can arrive at a good and

friendly feeling with them, making them understand that their peaceful conduct will win our regard, whilst hostility will be met by withdrawal of all countenance and benefits; if we can from this get to *barter* with them for bamboos, thatch, and other products of the forests, and make them, by judicious liberality towards them, somewhat industrious therein for themselves; if from this we can get one step further and by the strict exercise of good faith with them in all our dealings make them know that we are to be trusted; this is as much as we can expect from them. This attained, however, will lead us to the real motive of our efforts, the educating and civilizing of their children."

He advocated the establishment of a school under an Army schoolmaster for the Andamanese children on Ross Island, and after educating them there, proposed to send them to Burmah or India for a further education. He thought that at first the children should not be kept too long on Ross, but should be allowed to go and visit their homes at intervals. He suggested that the master should study their language and form a vocabulary of it, thus paving the way for the advent of a missionary and eventual Christianity. He added:—

"22. It is true they have no conception even of a Supreme Being and are perhaps the lowest in the family of mankind, but these very reasons I would urge for no longer neglecting them."

(In this statement he was wrong.—*M. V. P.*).

In Mr. Corbyn's defence it must be remembered that he had Colonel Tytler's letter, quoted in Chapter X, in which he was authorized to detain the Andamanese on Ross Island, as hostages.

There appear to have been two Andamanese women, both called "Hira" in Andamanese, and both called "Topsy" in English. Of these, one was the wife of Jumbo who did such good work for us, and who was drowned; and the other was an unmarried girl, who died of measles on Viper during the epidemic of 1876. Jumbo was installed by me as Chief of Bájá Jág in 1879, and died, a very old man, in 1882.

In reply to the above letter from Major Ford, the Government

of India wrote that, with regard to Mr. Corbyn's resignation of the charge of the Andaman Homes, these matters rested entirely with the Superintendent, who could make what arrangements he thought fit. The Governor General in Council was well aware of the great zeal and earnestness with which Mr. Corbyn had hitherto devoted himself to the object of establishing friendly intercourse with the Andamanese, by the exhibition of kindness and good treatment towards those whom he has persuaded to remain at the Settlement, and the Government regretted to infer that some cause had arisen, besides that mentioned by Mr. Corbyn, to induce him to cease from his efforts.

"That this is the case must be inferred from the circumstance that Mr. Corbyn's withdrawal seems to have taken place at a time when, owing to the interruption of communication with the Andamanese, and to there being but two children at the Home, the charge of the establishment could neither have involved much responsibility nor occupied much time."

An explanation was however required about certain cattle and stores belonging to the Homes. That establishment had hitherto been supposed to be merely a building in which a few Andamanese were accommodated, fed, and clothed, at the public cost; but some more elaborate affair would seem to have been since established. They ordered that the accounts of the Homes should be submitted monthly.

In reply to this, Major Ford reported on the state of the Andaman Homes under Mr. Corbyn. He wrote that there were a considerable quantity of cattle, pigs, and stores, in an extensive range of temporary stabling and styes, on the Ridge at Ross Island; Rupees 420 had been invested in pigs, and a similar sum in cows, the milk of which was sold and yielded a profit to the Homes. He did not like this traffic, but Mr. Corbyn said milk was a good anti-scorbutic and that people bought it readily.

Mr. Corbyn, indeed, intended to increase the stock of cows as they brought in a steady income, and this was required, as the expenditure on the Homes had been much in excess of the Government

Grant. Latterly, the amount realised by the sale of milk had fluctuated, as the convicts in charge mismanaged affairs, and the Naval Brigade men who used to buy most of the milk had gone. Forty-four convicts were employed at the Home, and when Mr. Corbyn was asked to reduce the number of men, he objected to do so. A few men were, however, taken away by the Superintendent's order, as they were urgently wanted for other works. The Civil Surgeon objected to the Homes on sanitary grounds, and in fact the whole thing had become a nuisance on Ross.

Major Ford had written to Mr. Corbyn, requesting him either to move the Homes or to do away with all the buildings he could spare, and Mr. Corbyn was apparently offended at this (though Colonel Tytler had always disapproved of the site for the Homes), and resigned the charge of the Andamanese on the day he received the letter. The old "Andaman Home," as at first started, had been abandoned, and the huts were in ruins; the Andamanese were living in the cattle sheds and styes. Whenever Major Ford tried to make an alteration in matters concerning the Homes, Mr. Corbyn met his proposal with his resignation. In order to retain his services, which were valuable, on account of the good work he had done, his personal friendship with the Andamanese, and his knowledge of their ways and language, Major Ford stated that he was obliged to "give in to him in a humiliating manner." While the relations between the two were so strained the Government called for the Andaman Home accounts, and Major Ford thought it best to wait for their decision in that matter before referring to anything else. The dairy had failed, and he wished to reduce the stock of cows, but Mr. Corbyn would not permit this, and used large bodies of convicts in making extensive clearings at the two Outpost Homes, against Dr. Gamack's wish. Mr. Corbyn's last resignation having been accepted he was relieved by Mr. Homfray, and was told to make over the stock to him. He replied that he would only make over such as was the property of Government, and appeared to wish that the cattle, on which he said he had spent a large sum of his private money, should be sold,

and he should be reimbursed from the proceeds. Major Ford agreed to this, but on Mr. Homfray going into the matter, it was found that much of the Government property had been lost, some was at the Outposts, and the rest had been stolen by the Andamanese. The number of convicts in the Homes was reduced to twenty.

Mr. Corbyn then submitted a detailed statement of the receipt and expenditure at the Homes, from which it appeared that a balance of R1,349-5-4 was due to him on account of money expended on behalf of the Andamanese.

He claimed on account of expenses incurred in taking eight Andamanese to Calcutta, R684-5-3; and on account of expenses incurred in taking six Andamanese to Burmah, R812-14-3. He had spent R440 on pigs, and had bought a Malay prah, which, as Major Ford justly remarked, "however useful it might be to the Chaplain when visiting the outposts, was a danger to the Settlement because the convicts could seize and escape in it." The Government of India sanctioned the amount above-mentioned being paid to Mr. Corbyn.

As an instance of the weight which our relations with the Andamanese carried at this time in the affairs of the Settlement, Major Ford, when writing to the Government of India on the 17th June 1864, states that he had heard a rumour (which was unfounded) that Port Blair was to be made a penal settlement for all the European convicts of Great Britain. He deprecated this on, amongst other grounds, "that they would be a constant source of alarm to the Andamanese, and a thwarting of all our efforts."

With the resignation of Mr. Corbyn of the charge of the Andamanese closes a period of our relations with them, and I will briefly comment upon it with the light which our subsequent dealings with them, and their and Mr. Homfray's accounts of Mr. Corbyn's doings, afford. Colonel Tytler appears to have been prejudiced against the Andamanese from the first, and to have considered a repressive policy towards them necessary in the interests of the

Settlement. Mr. Corbyn in detaining and fettering them seems, at the first anyhow, to have been acting with the sanction of the Superintendent.

During the time he was establishing friendly relations with them, Mr. Corbyn's conduct was certainly most judicious, and he was very kind to the Andamanese, and really fond of them. The establishment and farm at the Andaman Homes, to which Major Ford objected, was in its wrong place on Ross Island, but within a few years afterwards Mr. Homfray had opened similar farms and gardens at the Andaman Homes, though in distant jungle stations, and such continue to exist to the present day; Mr. Corbyn was only in advance of his time.

With regard to the effect his repressive measures had on the Andamanese, they were certainly excessive, and terrified the savages, but his ideas on the subject were correct, and these same measures, however objectionable and illegal they may have been, overawed them, and gave them a sense of our power, making Mr. Homfray's subsequent successful dealings with them easier. The Andamanese, on the whole, seem to have liked Mr. Corbyn, and did not resent his treatment of them as much as might have been expected. No doubt this, as well as the murders at the North Outpost, broke off for a time our friendly relations with them, but not to so great an extent as Major Ford thought, and the Outpost murder was the isolated act of two men, neither of whom were considered to be "good characters" even by their fellow tribesmen, and was not an act of conspiracy on the part of the whole tribe. It occurred exactly as stated by Major Ford, who appears to have been the first Superintendent who had any real appreciation of our dealings with the Andamanese from *their* point of view. Similar murders have occurred since, but have merely resulted in the individuals concerned being punished, the remainder of the Andamanese helping to arrest them. It was, however, very necessary in "those early difficult days," as Mr. Homfray used to describe them, to take severe notice of any act of hostility or treachery on the part of the savages, however much they might have been provoked. The

Andamanese on Ross Island disliked their English education, and on this account they escaped.

The principal mistake in our dealings with the Andamanese at this period was, that both the Superintendent and Mr. Corbyn appear to have been so taken up in guarding against the ill-doings of the Andamanese, that it never occurred to them to take any precautions against the misconduct of the Naval Brigadesmen, and the convicts who were associated with the savages in the Home; though a perusal of the history of our relations with the Australian and Tasmanian Aborigines, and the narratives of travellers in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, would have shown them what invariably followed the mixing of convicts or merchant sailors (of whom the Naval Brigade was chiefly composed) with savages.

The Andamanese, even now, speak bitterly of the treatment they received from these men, and Major Ford seems to have suspected the existence of the misdoings of the Europeans and convicts; but it is astonishing that none of his predecessors should have done so, and that no one should have considered that the Andamanese required to be protected against us, quite as much as we required to be protected against them.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. Homfray takes charge of the Andamanese—They behave better—Friendly relations with them resumed—Many Andamanese in the Home—Mr. Homfray makes them work—His treatment of them—Relations extended to more distant Septs—Annual Report for 1864-1865—Report by the Government of Burmah on the Andamanese—Māia Bíala's acquaintance made—Jacko's death and burial—Mr. Homfray's notes on the customs of the Andamanese—Mr. Homfray takes Andamanese to Calcutta—Mr. Homfray's further notes on the Andamanese—Men from the Ákar-*Bálé* tribe first come in to the Home—Jim murders Jumbo and hides but is caught—The Andamanese work for convicts—Annual Report for 1865-66.

MR. HOMFRAY, on assuming charge of the Andamanese, collected some boys on Ross Island, built a hut for them to live in, and endeavoured to win their confidence and affection, and to teach them. It is to be regretted that he was obliged to employ convicts to act as guards over the boys, but so long as the Home was on Ross Island in the vicinity of the European and Native residents, this seems to have been unavoidable. He was a man of a singularly kind-hearted and patient disposition, was from the first really attached to the Andamanese personally, and they were quick to see this and reciprocate the attachment. He taught the boys to be orderly, decent, and obedient; to refrain from stealing all they saw and desired; and to saw, dig, plant a garden of native vegetables for themselves, to fetch and carry for him, to wash, and to cook their own food. He rightly considered that such an education was the first to be given to such savages who he saw picked up a colloquial knowledge of Hindustani of their own accord, and he left such subjects as English reading and writing, and the ordinary primary education of an European child, to a later period.

During the month of October 1864 the Andamanese came into the vicinity of the Settlement and stole a few trifles, but were otherwise quiet and well behaved. They were well treated, and the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, in approving of the orders issued by

Major Ford after the murder of Gilbur Singh at the North Outpost by the Andamanese, regarding our policy towards the aborigines, added that they should be induced to bring in bamboos, thatching leaves, and other articles of jungle produce, and that no food should ever be given to them except in exchange for such articles. Neither Jacko nor Moriarty, the two murderers of Gilbur Singh, had up to this time appeared.

The funds of the Andaman Home were supervised by the Superintendent, who audited them quarterly, and were expended on rations and presents for the Andamanese, much as in the present day.

At this time there appears to have been a fund in Calcutta established by Mr. Corbyn in support of the Andaman Home and called the Calcutta Andamanese Donation Fund, but we hear nothing more of it, and no sums were brought on the books of the Home from such a fund, so it may be presumed that with Mr. Corbyn's resignation of the charge of the Andamanese it was abolished.

In October, 1864, Mr. Homfray, in reporting on the subject of the Andamanese to Major Ford stated that the boys whom he had on Ross Island were obedient, affectionate, and well behaved. He noted that they were fond of tobacco, and that their craving for it was the strongest hold he had on them. He then went on to recommend that Jacko and Moriarty should be allowed to visit us at the Andaman Home again. He had met them on the mainland and found that they were most anxious to be friendly and had behaved very well, they actually cried when he would not permit them to return to Ross with him. He further feared that if these men were ostracised he would not be safe when visiting the Outpost Homes. They were Chiefs and their good will was of importance to the Settlement; so Major Ford, much against his inclinations, directed that they should be admitted to friendly relations with us, being, however, treated with coldness at first in order to impress upon them the fact that we had neither forgiven nor forgotten their conduct.

Accordingly on the 1st November Mr. Homfray went to the South Outpost Home where about fifty Andamanese of both sexes had collected. They had bows and arrows but when they recognised Mr.

Homfray they hid them and seemed glad to meet him. Some twenty swam out to the boat while others on shore began to sing and call Myo-Tee-ree (Māia Tiri, a name the Andamanese had given to Mr. Homfray). Moriarty, who was the Chief and the man who had murdered Gilbur Singh in June, 1864, boldly told his name and asked Mr. Homfray to come on shore, saying that he would give him some bows and arrows. Mr. Homfray accordingly went and was given three bows. He also saw Sandys Sahib, an Andamanese, who had been wounded that day by some slugs fired at him at Aberdeen in return for some arrows he with others had fired at armed men who were trying to prevent their plundering. He had eleven shots in his stomach but owing to the small charge of powder had escaped being killed. He was plastered over with red earth and oil and expected to die. Twelve Andamanese accompanied Mr. Homfray back to Ross, among them being Friday, who had been a prisoner at Moulmein in Major Haughton's time, and who took the lead of the party and remained two days on Ross. On returning these people to their camp Mr. Homfray found that the other Andamanese were anxious to know how their friends had been treated, and had been on the point of swimming across to ascertain. From this time they gave Mr. Homfray the name of "Māia-jo-la," a term of great respect. He gave them food and they gave him four bows and some arrows and about twenty of them returned to Ross with him. Moriarty was anxious to come but Mr. Homfray told him that the Superintendent was angry with him on account of his doings, which remark Moriarty did not like. Sandys Sahib finding himself better came over. After a lapse of ten days Mr. Homfray took some of these Andamanese to the North Outpost Home to look for the North Tribe. On arrival there he could not understand why Jumbo would not make friends with some of the others who were there, and after a little persuasion the Andamanese told him that the North Tribe had quarrelled with the South Tribe and that they at any time might have a fight. A woman was the first to explain this.

After waiting an hour he got Jumbo and a couple of his party to come to Ross, but unwillingly, and Jumbo did not seem to care for the

presents pressed on him. On arrival at Ross Mr. Homfray gave them a pig for a feast, in connection with which a circumstance occurred which unfortunately frightened Jumbo still more, as the knife to be used for killing the pig was also used for threatening him, and he begged Mr. Homfray to take him away. The women also begged him to separate the two Tribes, which, after taking away the knife, he did. He then brought the grown-up men of the South Tribe, one by one into his room, where he had secreted Jumbo, and made them embrace and make friends, which they at last did, crying for a quarter of an hour. After some days Jumbo was taken to the South Outpost by Friday, and the quarrel was patched up.

At this time about fifty Andamanese, including women and children, used to swim over to Ross with only a bamboo for a support. Moriarty and Jacko were among the number who did this, although they had been forbidden to come, so they had to be sent back which they did not like at all, and Mr. Homfray remarked that, from the way they looked at him, he was frightened to go over to their camp, and hoped that, if he was expected to go over there, these Chiefs might be pardoned. Should they commit a second offence, he suggested that as a punishment, they be kept prisoners in Ross Island, as they would feel that to be a greater punishment than merely being prevented from coming there, and it would be a greater security to himself. He thought that to forbid them to come to Ross was scarcely any punishment, as it did not in any way interfere with their jungle life, and the freedom to which they had been accustomed, and only provoked them. He said that the Andamanese plundered as much as ever, and he was obliged to search them before they left Ross, after paying a visit there, as they stole almost everything they saw, particularly iron, and used to conceal small articles inside bamboos, and in their parcels of food. He had begun to learn a little of their language, and was teaching them Hindustani, in which he always conversed with them.

During November some Andamanese came to Viper Island, and though armed with bows, arrows, and knives, they behaved quietly and well, going away again after getting some food. A few days after this some others came to Haddo, and were given some food and asked to

supply bamboos in return. They picked up fifteen old ones in the jungle and brought them in, but when they were told that we wanted freshly cut ones they went away. Some others also came into Aberdeen and Phœnix Bay from the south, plundering the gardens and huts of fruit, convicts' clothing, and utensils.

Mr. Homfray states that during this month a very bright and cheerful lad of the North Tribe, named Bob, and aged about 14, died. He was the most useful and best behaved boy in the Home.

During the month of December, 1864, about one hundred Andamanese lived in the Home on Ross Island, and gave no trouble. No restraint was put upon them, and they were taken back to the jungle whenever they wanted to go, though they were not allowed to swim away on account of their thefts. This policy resulted in better behaviour and less suspicion on their part, and one day when they all wanted to go and found that no objection to their doing so was made, forty came back again shortly afterwards on a bamboo raft. During this month the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and the Commander-in-Chief of Madras both paid visits to Port Blair and were surprised to find a number of Andamanese children in clean clothes and with pretty manners turned out to meet them. Mr. Homfray wrote that he thought a Tribe (meaning of course a Sept) consisted of about forty to fifty people, and that the Andamanese had unlimited quantities of food in the jungle, and never died from starvation, as this food was easily procured. He added :—

"They dig up four kinds of wild roots which I take to be wild yams, (correct—*M. V. P.*,), sweet potatoes, china potatoes, and kitchen potatoes. (None of these three are indigenous in the Andamans,—*M. V. P.*) There is also breadfruit, (Mr. Homfray may have meant *Pandanus—M. V. P.*,) durian, mangosteen (neither of which are in the Andamans,—*M. V. P.*,) plantain, jack, and various other fruits; also several kinds of nuts."

He had a great wish to make the Andamanese do useful work, and employ them in cutting bamboos, and in rowing him about the harbour. He discovered that they were unable to count.

This cutting of bamboos was merely done by the Andamanese in obedience to Mr. Homfray's order, and they did not bring them in of their own accord to barter with.

During January, 1865, Major Ford strongly urged on the Government the importance of opening out a small Settlement at Port Mouat and connecting it with Port Blair by road, as it would, he thought, separate the North and South Tribes, enable us the easier to identify which Tribe gave trouble in any particular instance, and would convince the Andamanese of our power, and that we had come to the Andamans to stay. He mentions that the people inland, on the south side, were the most troublesome, not knowing them to be the Jàrawas who had no communication with the Âka-*Béa*-da Septs.

During this month Jacko and Moriarty were forgiven, as Mr. Homfray urged on their behalf that they were provoked to do what they did, and that it must be considered that these people have never known any law or restraint: are very irritable and quick-tempered, know nothing of right or wrong, and fear nothing except a musket. On the occasion of the murder in question there were a lot of them armed with bows and arrows asking for food, of which enough was not given to them, and Mr. Homfray further excused their actions by saying that they are accustomed to see convicts punished, or, as it would appear to them, ill-treated by us, when they do not do as we wish. They had waited till Tolidar Girba Singh, (as Mr. Homfray writes the name of the murdered convict,) was off his guard, and then Jacko, Chief of the North Tribe, and Moriarty, Chief of the South Tribe, shot him with their arrows from a few yards distant, and mortally wounded him. It was part of Girba Singh's duty to punish the Andamanese when that was necessary, which may have been an additional reason for the murder, as these people hate those who punish them; and on this account Mr. Homfray always got some one else to do that part of his duty. When the Andamanese used to complain to him that they had been punished, he would reply that it had been done by the Superintendent's order and so keep on friendly terms with them, which subterfuge was, he urged, necessary as a diplomatic convenience. Mr. Homfray added that Jacko, since his pardon, had been living entirely with him

and that his tribe were better behaved. At this time Mr. Homfray visited the Archipelago Islands for the first time, but did not meet with any of the Andamanese there, though he landed on Sir Hugh, Neill, and Havelock Islands. He was told by the Áka-*Béa*-da with him that the Balawa-da, as he found the inhabitants of the Archipelago Islands were called, were friendly with the Sept living to the north of Port Blair, and constantly mixed with them. He was also informed that they were all Ár-*yāūto*, or, as he put it, "live on fish." He noticed the large quantity of drift teak logs on the shores of these Islands, and found that his Andamanese could give him names for all the hills, encampments, and islands he saw. On the return journey two Andamanese steered the steam launch, and did it very well, (an accomplishment that they have become very expert at now--*M. V. P.*) With regard to their language he noted that he has a daily average of thirty Andamanese in the Home who are beginning to learn Hindustani, and one convict Munshi, and three of the Parawallahs attached to the Home, can speak a little Andamanese, he himself also having learnt about 300 words of that language.

A man of the *Puchikwár* tribe from the Middle Straits came to the Home during the month of January, 1865, and thus commenced our friendly relations with that tribe, which have never been interrupted since. In February, 1865, Mr. Homfray was sent by Major Ford in the *Diana* to Port Mouat, to catch some Burmese runaway convicts who had made a canoe there, and he took forty Andamanese with him. They told him that there was a hostile tribe on Rutland Island with whom the Áka-*Béa*-da did not mix, this being the first mention of this tribe of Jàrawas. The Andamanese with him knew Port Mouat and took Mr. Homfray to the camp there, where there were about twenty others in possession of property taken at different times from runaways. Some of the Naval Brigade men were with him, and, as usual, gave trouble by plundering the encampment. Mr. Homfray very rightly objected to this, and addressed Major Ford with a request that all articles required from the Andamanese should be purchased through him, (Homfray), the proceeds to go to the Home Funds.

The Andamanese in the Home were at this time beginning to make

themselves useful, having helped to get the ballast from a sunken lighter and so raise her, they diving for this purpose to a depth of six fathoms. They also brought in bamboos and rowed boats. Mr. Homfray used to reward them for their work by the present of a pig.

(Except as a training, it cannot be considered that working the Andamanese with convicts, and in the same manner, was very judicious. During Mr. Homfray's charge of them they were so closely associated with the convicts that many evil results ensued which were not discovered till after the mischief had been done past remedying.—*M. V. P.*)

A party of convicts had been cutting bamboos in the jungle during this month, and after some days, when they were going away on the completion of their work, the Andamanese who had collected near and were watching, sent away their women and children, and then took away from the convicts all the articles they required. Some of the same Andamanese then came to Ross, and were identified and confined by Mr. Homfray.

Others were sent away and told to bring back what they had stolen, and were threatened with punishment if they did not do so. After two days they returned with some of the things and said that the remainder had been taken far away by Andamanese who could not be found.

On the other hand, another party gave Mr. Homfray warning regarding some Burmese convicts who had escaped with fire arms, and were making canoes in which to leave the islands.

More Andamanese from the Middle Straits, and some from the Archipelago Islands came into the Home during the month, and at their meeting with the members of the North and South Tribes Mr. Homfray describes the crying as having "lasted for three days." Such a meeting, called "*Jeg*" by the Andamanese, necessitated a prolonged dance which Mr. Homfray watched, and noticed that the guests commenced, the women taking precedence of the men; when they were tired the hosts danced in similar order; at the end of the dance both parties and both sexes joined indiscriminately.

In March, 1865, Mr. Homfray reported that the Andamanese were being kindly treated by all, and were losing their surprise at the novelties they saw. They had learnt the value of money and used to dive in the sea for coins, with which they afterwards bought articles, principally food, in the bazaar. He considered that their craving for tobacco was the lever by which they could be most easily influenced, and remarks that they have discovered the value of dogs in assisting them while pig-hunting, and are taking care of them.

He advocated an idea which was both remarkable and utterly subversive of discipline; namely, that the Andamanese should not kill the runaway convicts, but should induce them to settle down with them in the distant jungles, intermarry with them, clear land and cultivate it, and rear a race of half-breeds. The Government of India, on hearing of this proposal, negatived it most emphatically, but it is a curious fact that the Andamanese women breed better from Natives of India than from the males of their own race.

Major Ford's Report to the Government of India on the progress of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, during the year 1864-65, was the first Annual Report of any importance submitted, and in it he summarises all that had gone before. His chapter on the Aborigines is accordingly given in full.

"Since the present Settlement on Port Blair, the Andamanese at the first evinced apparently more decided objection to our occupation of their shores than they did in the old days of Lieutenant Blair's colony. His Settlement was certainly more free from their attacks, but much of this immunity may be attributed to his safe position.

"Such hostility as has been evinced since our present occupancy has been principally towards those who first commenced clearing and dwelling on the mainland at "Aberdeen" and "Haddo," from which places they long tried to oust those convicts; constantly annoying them with flights of arrows, so much so that on two or three occasions it was necessary to turn the guns of the Guard Vessel upon the surrounding jungle, in the shelter of which they would sometimes assemble in some hundreds, and thus frighten them off. But from this time these annoyances from the aborigines became less; when they were met with,

they were kindly treated, and by degrees became better disposed to meet such advances. At length, friendly meetings would take place at "North Point," and presents were given and exchanged. Matters went thus far till, on the 28th of January, 1863, one of the Naval Brigade men, by an attempted familiarity with an Andamanese woman, provoked the anger of a man of her tribe, who drew an arrow on him, and shot him through the body, from which he died. For this, two, Andamanese were made prisoners and secured on "Ross Island." At length some intercourse was resumed, and a few men and women were induced to come over to "Ross Island" to see the prisoners; these were detained in kind treatment, and accommodated in a hut built for their use. This intercourse was improved by the Revd. H. Corbyn, the Chaplain, who at length, on the 30th of June, 1863, took charge of these and other visitors in the "Andaman Home." Mr. Corbyn now frequently visited the aborigines on the mainland, and by his humane and persevering efforts, won much of their confidence and regard.

"Two Outposts were established on the mainland coast, a short distance North and South of "Ross Island." Here huts were erected, and provisions conveyed for them, and it was hoped that some attempt might be made to teach them to cultivate the soil; but unfortunately in June, 1864, an act of violence on the part of two Andamanese occurred, who in a fit of passion shot and killed three convicts, wounding two more with their arrows. It was necessary at once that very serious notice should be taken of such desperate acts, and to mark this, all intercourse with the Andamanese was cut off for three months.

"Not one was allowed to land on any part of the Settlement, and all supplies of food were withheld. At the end of this time, the aborigines, under fixed rules, were again permitted to visit the Settlement; at first a cold reception met all. This attitude and its cause were well understood by them, the men charged with the murderous acts described were forbidden the Settlement, and by degrees our good-will was as before given to the tribe.

"In June, 1864, Mr. Corbyn resigned charge of the "Home" and J. N. Homfray, Esq., Assistant to the Superintendent, having volunteered his services to take it up, he was placed in charge.

"Since Mr. Homfray has had the "Andaman Homes" in his care, he has established himself well with the aborigines visiting us, as they are now permitted to go unrestrained, and their confidence in us has largely increased. They now bring over their women and children in *their own canoes* by which act, (it would appear by their own account), they can exhibit no greater mark of trust in us.

"Mr. Homfray has acquired a considerable knowledge of their language; he is well acquainted now with the North and South Tribes of "South Andaman," with the "Rutland" and "Archipelago" Islanders, and their Chiefs, with whom he has much influence. His efforts on behalf of them all have been very successful in the humanising effect produced on their manners, habits, and dispositions. A ground-work so well established is encouraging, and invites further endeavours for their civilisation."

The Chief Commissioner of British Burmah was requested by the Government of India, in March 1865, to report upon our relations with the Andamanese, and to submit proposals as to our future management of them. It was suggested that one or more European or Eurasian convicts might be employed in the management and education of the Andamanese children, if any could be induced to remain in the Settlement. Major Ford had asked for the services of an Army Schoolmaster for the Andamanese School, but he could not be spared, and, even if he had been granted, his services would probably have been of little value. The Government considered that a zealous missionary would be the best person for this work, and were willing to aid any such man, but added that there appeared to be little field at the Andamans for missionary enterprise, and that it was improbable that such a man would come.

In reply to this Letter, the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah stated, in April, 1865, that it was of great importance to reclaim the Andamanese from their present savage condition, and, by the force of good example to gain such influence over them as to induce them to help shipwrecked people; but both he and Major Ford objected to their being kept under the charge of a convict. He also doubted the

propriety of any convicts being placed as orderlies or watchmen over them, as was then the custom.

(It was a pity that this policy was not carried out. The disadvantages attendant on the association of convicts with the Andamanese was fully appreciated by both Colonel Phayre, and Major Ford, and the former goes on to say) :—

"A European or East Indian man and his wife should be in charge of the Home, should treat the adults of both sexes kindly, and as far as possible instruct the children. Each day's delay renders the task of improving these people more difficult, for I fear they are now contracting bad habits. Archdeacon Pratt, on the 15th December, 1864, when visiting the Islands, recommended that a missionary should be appointed to instruct these people as he would probably be the most successful. Under such a régime the Chaplain might be the *ex-officio* visitor, and the Home be under the direct authority of the Superintendent.

"I have already recommended that a school be founded at the Setttlement for convict and free children, and I thought that the charge of the Home might be combined with the duty of schoolmaster."

The Government of India did not approve of this proposal and directed that Mr. Homfray, who had already done such good work with the Andamanese, should remain in charge of the Home.

On the 1st April, 1865, there were only six convicts attached to the Andaman Home; Mr. Homfray endeavoured to utilise the Andamanese in many ways, and they helped to erect their own Home building, in which Major Ford would not allow them to have fires at first, until they refused to live there without them.

Mr. Homfray at this time began to compile a vocabulary of the Áka-*Béa*-da language, which, however, was never published.

In May, 1865, a steady advance in friendly relations with the *Páchikwár* and Ákar-*Bálé* Tribes was noticed. Mr. Homfray used the already friendly Áka-*Béa*-da as intermediaries, and in a short time Major Ford and Mr. Homfray were able to land from the

Diana and visit in a friendly manner the villages of the above-mentioned Tribes.

On one occasion Māia Bíala, the Chief of Rutland Island, came on board the *Diana* and was at once noticed to be superior to the other Andamanese, and to have great influence with his tribesmen, who soon became friendly. Major Ford remarks regarding him :—

"He is very different to any Andamanese I have yet seen. His bearing is so different, so superior to any of them, his demeanour at all times quiet and composed. He has a very intelligent countenance, and his gentleness of manner, so different from the somewhat boisterousness of the Andamanese, is as remarkable as it is engaging."

This man similarly impressed Mr. Man, Major Protheroe, and others who knew him, and his death during the epidemic of measles in April, 1877, was much regretted. On account of his superiority some people seem to have thought that he was of mixed blood, and of Indian parentage on the father's side, but such was not the case.

During the month of June, 1865, the friendly relations with the tribes to the north continued, and at one time representatives from four tribes were living together amicably in the Home, a hitherto unknown occurrence among the Andamanese. Mr. Homfray made them bring in fish for sale, and with their assistance extended the gardens at the Homes in the jungle, as by growing articles for sale in them he was able to add to the Home Funds, and also by issuing some as food to the Andamanese, to decrease the expenditure. He was most energetic, living for days in jungle encampments with the Andamanese while engaged on this work, and the present Homes and gardens at Táracháng, Bája-Jág-da, Góp-l'áka-báng, and Duratáng were all established by him.

In his zeal he even went so far as to allow himself to be painted and dressed in Andamanese fashion, and joined in their dances, and there is no doubt that he was really attached to this people personally, and they to him.

On the 1st July, 1865, Jacko, the Chief of the North Tribe, died of

pneumonia. Before his death he confessed to Mr. Homfray that he and Moriarty were the two men who had killed the three convicts in June, 1864, at the North Outpost.

His funeral took place on the following day, and is thus described by Mr. Homfray :—

"The Andamanese, especially those of his tribe and family, felt his death very much, and cried for several days after whenever they thought of him. He left two sisters, who were much attached to him, and were married, and they were present, and carefully attended on him, on his death bed. They were the chief mourners, and their husbands had to bury him. He died in the morning at 6 A.M. and was rolled up in a ball in the same way as a child in his mother's womb. He was buried at Perseverance Point on account of his brother having been buried there formerly, and the two sisters and brothers in-law attended to the burial. The females were much affected at their loss and were crying bitterly while their husbands were digging the grave. This was about two feet deep, a little above high water mark, and in it they placed the corpse in a half sitting position, with his face upwards looking towards the east. He was kept in the ball shape as when first rolled up, and the grave was not more than two feet square. Previous to covering him up, they took the last farewell peep at his face, blowing gently on his eyes and forehead. He was then covered over with not more than six inches of earth, and some stones were placed on the grave. A bundle of burning faggots was placed over this, and mourning garlands were fixed at conspicuous parts of the shore, as signals of an interment. This form of funeral has invariably been carried out by all with slight alterations, according to the dignity and respect of the deceased. After four months the nearest of kin goes to the grave and fetches away the lower jaw, which is about that time freed from the flesh; a month after, the shoulder bone and ribs are extracted, and after six months the skull, which is then clear of all the brain, is taken, and slung round the neck of the principal mourner. After a while, everybody has a turn in carrying it about. Should a stranger die among them, and none of his tribe or family be present, he is entirely

neglected and not a bit cared for, and that is one of the reasons for their always keeping together in families."

Mr. Homfray at the time of writing this was evidently unaware that the Andamanese also used "Platform" burial, and that it was considered more honourable than interment in the earth.

The following notes on the customs of the Andamanese are extracted from his reports at this time:—

"The marriage ceremony is simple, yet binding on the Andamanese. A lad of sixteen engages himself to a girl of thirteen of a different family, with the consent of the girl's guardian who is generally the Chief of the tribe. At their first meeting they stare at each other while seated quietly by themselves. At night the Chief takes the newly married couple by their hands, and joins them together, after which they retire to the jungle for their honeymoon, and the next time they meet all the people there is a great dance. The married couple keep together till death."

This account is meagre and incorrect, and with other remarks of Mr. Homfray's regarding the marriage customs of the Andamanese published further on, has misled several enquirers who naturally accepted Mr. Homfray's statements as those of the best authority.

He remarks that "in the making of their canoes it was formerly supposed that fire was greatly used in burning the log out, instead of scooping it out, but I can now clearly state that the whole of the work is done with an adze: after picking out and felling a good tree in a convenient place, a number of them assemble together and in turn assist in the work, while others have to search for food. In ten days to a fortnight the boat is launched, and when at leisure the amusement is to finish it off to a very light condition, barely being in some parts half an inch thick. This is done with great care, and it so improves the boat, that with one paddle she is able to move about at a good pace. They always ballast the canoe with a few stones, otherwise it is likely to turn over, as she has no bearings, and is not opened out as are the Burmese canoes. A good sized boat could carry twenty Andamanese at a time. Of the canoes about here,

none have outriggers or sails, but I believe those among the islands to the north have them, and are better and larger ones."

(On the contrary, the canoes of the northern tribes are smaller, and not so safe or commodious. The Andamanese do not use sails in their canoes.—*M. V. P.*)

In August, 1865, Mr. Homfray took an Andamanese man and his wife, and some children, to Calcutta with him. During his absence the following instance of hospitality on the part of the Andamanese occurred. Prisoner Peterson, with a Parawallah of the Homes, went to the jungle for fibre for the use of the Homes, and landed on the mainland west of Chatham. They were met by a large number of Andamanese, who received them in a most friendly manner, gave them a feast of roasted iguana, shell-fish, and water, and on leaving gave them jungle pigs, and a large fish, assisted them to procure what they required, and accompanied them to their boat.

On Mr. Homfray's return the Andamanese crowded in to meet him, and were much excited at the accounts of Calcutta given by those who had been there.

On the 7th August, 1865, the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, when writing about the Andamanese to the Government of India, states that they had acquired great confidence in visiting the Settlement. Mr. Homfray's plan of teaching them to plant coconuts and to wait for their gradual growth had been partially successful and of course such matters can only be gradually taught. (The garden of coconuts at Táracháng was planted at this time.) The Chief Commissioner did not approve of the Superintendent of Port Blair granting convicts to the Andaman Home in order to teach the Andamanese how to cultivate, and thought that Mr. Homfray could not do better than by going on as he was then working.

The attempt to teach the Andamanese cultivation has never been successful, and as the Chief Commissioner suggested, had better have been left alone from the beginning, so far as associating convicts with the Andamanese for that purpose was concerned; but in January, 1866, he wrote to Major Ford that, if the Andamanese could be taught agriculture, it would be very desirable. He suggested that Major

Ford should give them a plot of ground and test them by saying " we will give you no plantains, but those you grow in the garden may be yours ".

On the 24th October, 1865, Major Ford, when writing to the Government to ask for a station steamer to be permanently stationed at Port Blair, urges the necessity of guarding shipwrecked crews, and adds that Malay piratical craft, heavily armed and manned, hang about the Andaman Islands, evidently for no good purpose as they have false papers.

He states :—" I learn from the Andamanese, who always evince alarm at the approach of such craft, that it is on board such as these that their countrymen are kidnapped away to Atcheen, Siam, and elsewhere. The Andamanese assert these practices still exist. "

In November, 1865, Mr. Homfray, with the view apparently of obtaining a larger grant for the Homes, more land, and a larger staff of convicts to work on it, reported that he thought he was losing ground with the Andamanese. He considered that this was because he could not give them enough presents, and urged that they were better treated in Mr. Corbyn's time, in this respect, as there was then an allowance of R200 per mensem to feed only forty of them; the Settlement gardens were then flourishing, 200 convict gardeners being employed in them, and many fruits could be spared to be given to the Andamanese who, therefore, got for nothing what they now had to buy from the self-supporters. The convict establishment at the Homes in Mr. Corbyn's time was forty men, and with this staff cows and pigs could be kept, and by their sale a profit made which was credited to the Home Fund. After enumerating many other privileges which Mr. Corbyn had enjoyed, he begged for the same, or, if not allowed to have them, asked to be permitted to close the Homes, as he stated the Andamanese on Ross Island got nothing but rice to eat, and, on account of this poor diet, he thought four of them died, and the rest were discontended and uneasy. There was no special reason for this complaint, and Major Ford took little notice of it, merely telling Mr. Homfray to go on as he was going, and that he was doing very well (as indeed he was).

During the year he had been in charge, no rows had occurred, and he had taught the Andamanese to work for us, and encouraged them by gifts of adzes, etc., to use our tools in making their canoes.

Mr. Corbyn was still in the Settlement at this time (not leaving it till early in 1866, when, after an interval, he was succeeded, on the 3rd November 1866, by the Revd. T. F. L. Warneford), and Mr. Homfray experienced some difficulty in keeping on good terms with him owing to his continued interference with the Andamanese. On one occasion he objected to Mr. Corbyn taking away their goods, particularly a large canoe, which Mr. Corbyn said he had bought for a knife! Similar complaints were made against Captain Laughton, the Executive Commissariat Officer, and the matter had to be reported to the Superintendent, as Mr. Homfray thought the Andamanese would begin to give trouble again, if looted in this manner.

In January, 1866, Mr. Homfray commented on the wandering ways of the Andamanese, and hoped to get them to settle down to agriculture. He also noted their former distrust, timidity, and treachery, and was doubtful about the possibility of their conversion to Christianity, as he said they had no word for, or conception of, an Almighty, do not think about him, and would not care to know of one: "There are many other things to teach them before all this." He adds:—

"The Andamanese will never be able, without our help, to clear, cultivate, and build houses, and for the first two years we should help them to start, with convict labour, in four different spots in the jungle near some creek where they generally encamp. By care and kindness their fancy might be drawn to the scheme, and no provocation or compulsion should be used. Persons should not be allowed to visit their homes and deprive them of their goods. The Andamanese resent this, which is the reason of their hiding their goods in the jungle."

He also gave the want of food and insecurity of property as the reasons for their nomadic habits.

The uncleanly habits of the Andamanese might have been included as another reason for their nomadism. To attempt to

change such a people into an agricultural race, by a mere order and a little assistance in the building of houses, was absurd. Generations would have to pass before, with the greatest care, the change could be effected, if indeed it could be done at all. Many similar attempts were made in after years, but were finally abandoned, owing to the rapidly approaching extinction of the race. The above is an interesting instance of the attempts so universally made by the English-speaking peoples to fit other races into their narrow and often unsuitable customs. In 1887, a very distinguished officer, who, many years before had been connected officially with the Andamans, asked me whether the Andamanese had settled down, and taken to agriculture. I told him that I had abandoned all efforts in that direction, for I could not see that they would confer any benefit on the savages, or were likely to yield the desired result. His answer was "they should have been *made* to do it!".

In February, 1866, a man of the Ákar-*Bálé* Tribe was brought to the Home for the first time. These people have since always proved very friendly towards us, and are among the best natured of the Andamanese.

At this time the so called South Tribe were living at Bóröīnj-Gudar, and the North Tribe were at Lekera-Bárnga, and representatives of both these Septs were living at the Home on Ross Island.

Two men, "Dāūra" of the South Tribe (called Jim,) and "Punga" of the North Tribe (called Jumbo) had a fight near the Ross Island jetty about some pork which the latter would not give up to the former. Jim shot Jumbo in the stomach, killing him, and then swam across to Aberdeen, and fled into the jungle. Jumbo was buried by Mr. Homfray and the Andamanese at the Home, at Aberdeen.

Jim had witnessed the hanging of two convicts for murder, and was well aware that the punishment for murder was death, so Mr. Homfray recommended that he should be hanged as an example, to teach the others to govern their tempers and not murder people for trifles, admitting at the same time that the Andamanese are very quick tempered. He pointed out, as a curious fact, that, of the

eight Andamanese Mr. Corbyn took with him to Calcutta in November, 1865, two were drowned, one was murdered, one had died a natural death, and four, of whom two were murderers, were still in the Settlement.

Major Ford did not approve of Mr. Homfray's proposal to hang Jim, so the latter suggested that he should be sent to Burmah for a year, as were Crusoe and Friday in Major Haughton's time, to be under the care of some Government schoolmaster or chaplain there, to be taught English, and be so trained that on his return to the Andamans he could be made some use of. This, however, was not done.

Jim remained by himself in hiding in the jungle, and Mr. Homfray sent out a notice to the other Andamanese of his tribe that when caught he would be punished. Jumbo's friends connived at Jim's escape and refused to assist Mr. Homfray in apprehending him as, angry as they were with Jim, and anxious to wreak their own vengeance on him, they did not wish to see him hanged. Mr. Homfray was under the impression, though wrongly, that Moriarty was sheltering Jim, so turned him away from the Settlement on this account. Moriarty felt this unjust treatment, and a short time afterwards came to Mr. Homfray with a present of some honeycombs, asking him to allow him to again visit the Home. Mr. Homfray noticed that, at this time, the Andamanese used to bring in pán leaves, and jungle canes for the convict Parawallahs of the Andaman Homes, who ordered them to do so. There can be no doubt that, from this time onward, the convicts had considerable power over the Andamanese, who thought that the former had the ear of Mr. Homfray, and ill-treatment of the men and intrigues with the women were common, resulting in the latter case in the introduction of syphilis among the race, an evil Mr. Homfray never seemed to have feared, or made any attempt to guard against. The Burmese convicts had by this time taught the Andamanese to use dogs for pig hunting, and they had also all taken to tobacco smoking.

The Sept of the Áka-*Béa*-da living in Port Campbell now came to the Home, and Mr. Homfray regarded them as the most powerful among the South Andaman Septs. He states that "the Andamanese suffer much from chest diseases at the commencement of the rainy season, and approve of our treatment of them when they are ill."

By March 1866, he was slightly acquainted with all the tribes of the South Andaman Group (except the Āūkāū-*Júwōī* and Kol) and their Septs which he considered to be separate Tribes. He noticed that each Sept had a Chief, and that the Septs quarrelled with each other; also that they had head-quarter stations where stores were accumulated and the sick were kept. He states that, in a quarrel the Andamanese separate to avoid a fight, keep apart for some time and then patch up a peace.

During the month of March an Andamanese from a Northern Tribe died at the Home, and being a stranger the other Andamanese would take no trouble about him, but let Mr. Homfray bury him.

The following report on the Andamanese for the year 1865-66 by Lieutenant-Colonel B. Ford, Superintendent of Port Blair, is inserted in full :—

"The intercourse that has been held with the Andamanese, during the year under report, has been satisfactory. Mr. Homfray, in charge of the "Andaman Home," has great influence and control amongst them, and has done much to advance the good understanding which now exists generally between the Andamanese and the inhabitants of the Settlement. Several visits have been made during the year under report to the aborigines on localities which are distant from the Settlement. On the first opportunity, the Andamanese of the Archipelago were visited on Outram Island, on which occasion the Superintendent met them accompanied by several officers of the Settlement. The following is Mr. Homfray's account of the meeting :—

"As our boat approached the shore, four of the Andamanese came out from the jungle, apparently preparing their arrows to fire on us, when I hailed them, threatening them if they attempted to fire, that I should punish them. There were four Andamanese with us who accompanied our party in the boat, who I knew well and could be depended on. They did their best to explain to those on shore, by calling to them from the bows of the boat, that we were friendly, having brought them food and presents, and told them that if they

aimed any arrows at the boat, they would be the sufferers, as we had muskets prepared to meet any hostility. It was not until after 15 minutes talking and every possible show of friendship, (keeping the boat out of reach), that they laid down their weapons, giving them up to our Andamanese, who swam to the shore and brought off the bows and arrows to us.

"We then landed guarded by Marine Service men, and remained on shore some time. There were 20 men, women, and children, apparently of one family; all appeared to be in good condition. They had also a canoe with some articles in it that must have been carried off by runaway convicts, in their possession.

"The women and children at the first sight of the rifles, which were out of view as far as was possible, were frightened and hid themselves. It is very curious that with them, as I make out, the presence of women should be an indication of peace, and it was noticeable that, as soon as the women came forward, the men thought it time to lay down their arms, and become peaceably disposed. We gave them a good many presents and food, at which they seemed pleased. Where I landed, I planted young cocoanuts, plantains, and pineapple shoots, and several kinds of seeds, of which I had brought a supply."

"The second meeting was held shortly afterwards with the Rutland Islanders. The Chief of this Tribe, that of the south coast, named Myo-ba-la-lah (Māia Bíala.—*M. V. P.*) (Myo being a prefix signifying a friend) is a most remarkable man. His bearing being so different and superior to that of any other of the Andamanese that have yet been seen; his demeanour is at all times quiet and composed. He is tall and good-looking, having a very intelligent countenance, and his gentleness of manner, so opposite to the somewhat boisterousness of the Andamanese generally, is as remarkable as it is engaging. On this occasion there was no mistrust; the Southern Tribe people coming on board the steamer in the most confident manner. Mr. Homfray thus describes the meeting:—

"Three canoes filled with Andamanese came off to the steamer. The crews came on board, and after enjoying themselves on meeting with their friends, and partaking of the food and presents that were

given them, invited me on shore. I went with my party, and was surprised to see their large camp, with a family group of about 50, in half a dozen huts, with canoes, bows and arrows, knives, several pieces of iron, an old 32 lb. shot, (Government property), and some fine turtles which abound there, and are principally their food. On account of there being a shoal, the boat was not able to get there, when one of the chiefs came and carried me on shore on his back.

"The first amusement was a great dance, in which my party of Andamanese had to join. After a couple of hours, we returned to the steamer, bringing away several articles which they exchanged with us for food, beads, and old iron. Sixteen souls of this place accompanied us back to Ross; some of my party were related to them, and remained behind."

" Mr. Homfray shortly after again visited this Tribe on the occasion of his search for a lost boat. He found it, (he says), but the Andamanese had cut out of the boat pieces of iron thereby injuring it to a considerable extent. " I found some of them near the boat, who were pointed out by the runaways, (convicts), as being those who took away the boat and provisions from them. They at first feigned surprise at being taxed with this, but afterwards confessed that they were guilty, and offered to compensate me with their own canoe for the injury done to the boat. I at first doubted their sincerity, and sent the canoe back to them after a day with some food, but, to my surprise, when at anchor on the east side of Macpherson's Straits, on the afternoon of that day, by the bird's nest cave, and while watering the ship, they brought the canoe off a second time to the steamer, and were particular in explaining to me, that the canoe was no longer theirs. I was glad to see that they understood what wrong they had done, and were sorry for it."

"Later in the year Mr. Homfray visited the Port Mouat tribe at that place. On this occasion he had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of Oo-loo-golo, (Wologa Jóla.—*M.V.P.*) the Chief of the tribe resident about Cape Bluff. Mr. Homfray thus describes his meeting with the tribe: " As I was reaching the end of the Port Mouat road, I perceived in the Harbour a canoe with a number of Andaman-

ese in it. On hailing them, they instantly advanced, and were glad at meeting me. They took me over in their canoe to their camp on the sea shore by Grub Island, a distance of five miles to sea from the road to Port Blair (on the mainland at Port Mouat), where I met a number of them, who were familiar with and glad to see me.

"During the day, I was fed with the fruit, (sappota), (?) and fish, which the women got at low water for me amongst the rocks. Some of the men went out hunting pigs, and some a few miles further to the south, where they were making a canoe. I returned in the evening with a number of them in their canoes, amongst whom were the Chiefs. They brought me to the shore north of Port Mouat, being anxious to visit friends there."

"Lastly, Mr. Homfray visited the tribe resident in the vicinity of Port Campbell on the western coast. Not only did he on this occasion meet them, but many aborigines also coming from 20 miles further north from that place. Of this meeting, Mr. Homfray states:—

"Wherever I met with the Andamanese, they welcomed me, as they had all seen me before at the Home. I was surprised myself in having met my friends so high up the coast. They gave me all the information I required, as also some fish, and showed me fresh water springs, which quite refreshed me."

"Of other circumstances connected with this trip, more information will be given further on. The visits of the Andamanese to the Home established on Ross Island, have been both numerous and frequent during the year.

"Several Chiefs have also been encouraged to come in and visit the Superintendent, amongst others, Myo-ba-la-lah, (Māia Bíala), the Chief of the Southern Tribe; the Chief of Middle Straits, Dos-may-blee, (Méba); the Chief of Cape Bluff, Oo-loo-golo (Wologa Jóla); the Chief of the North Tribe, Jacko; the Port Campbell Chief, and the Port Mouat Chief, while the chiefs of tribes living nearer about Port Blair, have constantly been into the Settlement. On one occasion no less than the heads of five tribes, with a number of followers were assembled on Ross Island. The occasion was that of the introduction of some 20 men of the Eastern Archipelago Tribe, who made their first

visit to the Settlement, they being brought over by our oldest friends the people of the North Tribe. There were thus, the North, South, Port Mouat, the Rutland, and the Eastern Archipelago Tribes, all assembled at the Home. "Such a meeting," Mr. Homfray observes "I am confident never occurred ere this, even amongst themselves, bringing with them, as they did, such a large number of their different families."

"The new comers appeared surprised at meeting so many people of different tribes in one place, as well as the state of harmony that appeared to exist amongst all. They were greatly amused, of course, with everything that they saw: the whole party occupied themselves in feasting, dancing, fishing, and hunting excursions. The new visitors remained a week, after which time they appeared anxious to return home, being like all new comers, somewhat timid. They went off in great spirits, in their three canoes that they brought with them, taking many presents, and assured of the good will of the Government and Superintendent towards them.

"A good understanding now exists with nine tribes, North tribe South tribe, Rutland Islanders, Port Mouat tribe, Port Campbell tribe, Middle Straits tribe, Middle Andamans tribe, (! ?) Eastern Archipelago tribe, and Labyrinth Islanders, having Chiefs or Elders, whom all the rest respect and obey. There can be no doubt but that the friendly treatment they have received in the Settlement is now known throughout the Middle Andamans, and that by next year the Settlement may be visited by their chiefs, by whose assistance a friendly acquaintance will, it is hoped, be made with the tribes of North Andaman. It will then remain to acquire some knowledge of the tribes of the interior of the Islands, located somewhat more on the north-west coast, as also of the inhabitants of Little Andaman, lying some 20 miles south of Rutland Island. Mr. Homfray remarks that "it is extraordinary how our kindness has drawn these savages even on mere hearsay to flock in, and put themselves under our charge, and who would," he believes, "willingly give themselves over to our entire care." This is good progress with people who, a couple of years ago, would have fled from us or fired on us if followed. (As soon as

friendly relations were established with one Tribe of a Group, they were extended in time to the remaining Tribes in that Group as a matter of course.—*M. V. P.*)

"The question naturally occurs, what return have we received for all this kindness lavished upon these Islanders. To expect a direct return from the untutored savage would be absurd, but indirectly this conciliatory treatment of them tends to do good. To expect labour (*i.e.*, manual field labour) is equally out of the question, at all events at this early stage of our intercourse with them. To remove their fear of the strangers upon their shores has been no small task.

"There was a time when they dreaded the appearance of a sail or the landing of a human being upon their shores with a skin less black than their own. Such comers, mostly from the Malayan Islands, sought the Andamans but to seize and capture the Islanders for sale as slaves at the Courts of "Siam," "Atcheen," or "Cambodia." These were adventures of risk; what wonder then that the savage drew his bow upon the stranger that would rob him of his kin, or that the pirate fought fiercely to retain the unfortunate victim within his grasp. Thus the Islanders regarded all, save those who were joint occupants of the land they lived in, as their enemies; and thus it was that when the storm-driven vessel was thrown a wreck upon their island reefs they and their tribes, exasperated by former wrongs, also their natural cupidity intensely excited in view of the plunder thrown within their grasp, would fall upon the lost and weary mariner, now an easy victim and make the wreck their own. Thus it is that the belief exists, even in these days, amongst seafaring people even of education, that the "Andaman Islanders" are blood-thirsty and ruthless cannibals!

"In the intercourse that has been held with the Andamanese during the past two years, particularly latterly, it has been the desire of the Superintendent, in which he has been ably seconded by Mr. Homfray, to make these poor people understand that all new comers on their shores are their friends and not their enemies. That the kidnapping that once prevailed is now no longer tolerated, and that every protection will be afforded them therefrom. That information should always be given by them, of all foreigners that they might find in distress, no

matter of what colour. That they should succour them, and that reward would be sure to follow; and there are strong grounds for hoping, from their bearing towards the inhabitants generally of this Settlement, whether within its limits or at a distance from it, that those who might hereafter be unhappily cast away upon the shores of the "Andamans," would not only meet with forbearance, if not kindly treatment from them. That they have much disposition so to act, and are willing to be useful, may be inferred from the following occurrences which have taken place at various times during the year under report.

"In the early part of the year Mr. Homfray had occasion to proceed to Port Mouat, for the purpose of endeavouring to intercept some runaway Burmese convicts. 40 Andamanese on his invitation accompanied him, and "gave him all the information that he wished for," and though the search was then unsuccessful as regards the capture of the Burmese, they busied themselves in searching for, and found indications of their recent presence in Port Mouat, which they guided Mr. Homfray towards, and showed him.

"On another occasion, the Andamanese, discovering a party of escaped Burmese constructing a canoe on the western coast, voluntarily came and gave Mr. Homfray information of the fact, offering to guide him to the spot.

"Again, Mr. Homfray being out some eight miles north of Ross Island endeavouring to intercept some runaways, and landing on seeing some fires on the shores, was entirely surrounded by a number of armed Andamanese. So soon as they saw who he was, "Crusoe" (as he is called here) the head of their party, at once in friendly spirit gave over his bow and arrows to Mr. Homfray, and carried him and his party to their camp, where they spent the night in rude but hearty and hospitable demonstrations of welcome, rejoicing with dancing and singing, in their way, until daylight.

"In the month of April, 1865, the Andamanese brought Mr. Homfray information of having seen certain runaways steering through Middle Straits, who they noticed making their way to Strait Island, and it was in pursuit of these men that they, accompanying Mr. Hom-

fray so far as Port Campbell, afforded him information as to the whereabouts of four other runaway convicts, towards whose concealment they led Mr. Homfray, and actually assisted him in their capture. This was very satisfactory.

"On two occasions also, finding runaway convicts in the jungles, the one a half-witted creature, probably reduced to that state by privations, and the other in a shockingly emaciated and weak state from the same cause, while wandering without sustenance in the wilds of the forests, the Andamanese brought them in towards Viper Island, and when near that place one of the aborigines went across to the Island and gave information to the Overseer of the proximity of these escaped convicts, who thereon was enabled to send out for and bring them in.

"Again, under Mr. Homfray's orders attached to the "Andaman Home" was a prisoner named Peterson. This man accompanied by one or two natives of India had been sent out to the jungles to bring in some fibre material and had wandered to some distance on the mainland west of Chatham Island when they were unexpectedly met by a large number of Andamanese, who came out from the forest and met them in a very friendly manner, took them to their camp, and there offered them a meal which was specially prepared for them, nor were they content with this display of hospitality, for while thus entertaining them others went hunting and fishing, and having accompanied and assisted them in procuring a supply of the fibre that they required, they presented them with the results of their sport, and accompanied Peterson and his party to their boat on their return, and it may be considered that no better proof of the friendly feeling now existing amongst them towards those they know could be shown, than this unexpected and spontaneous offer of hospitality on the part of the Andamanese.

"It was no uncommon thing, until recently, when convicts might be returning from foresting, for the Andamanese to hang about their track, and surrounding any straggler, to deprive him of his axe or dah. The convicts now say that the Andamanese never molest them; and some of the Burmese who supposed that the Aborigines had a particular ill-feeling towards them (from their resemblance to the Malays, who in their former piratical excursions to these shores caused such

alarm and hatred of themselves amongst these Islanders) now describe frequent and friendly visits of the Andamanese to their camps.

"Now perhaps of all convicts none get on so well together as the Burmans do with the Aborigines, and neither appear to have any fear of the other in their jungle meetings.

"During the year Mr. Homfray has taken much pains to acquire a knowledge of the Andamanese tongue. He now talks to them freely and both seem readily to understand each other. He has the material which will be of very great use in compiling a vocabulary. A convict munshi and three parawallahs also have acquired some knowledge of the language of the Andamanese, and can make themselves pretty well understood by, and are successful in managing, them.

"The Superintendent and Mr. Homfray have made many efforts to induce the Aborigines to bring in bamboos, thatch, wild fruit, and game, etc., for barter, but so far as these efforts have been made, they have not been very successful. If the Andamanese could be utilised in this way, such supplies would meet with a ready market. But strange though the statement may appear, these people do not seem to have any capability of counting, nor is it found that they have any words expressive of numerals in their language. Efforts have been made frequently to teach them, by placing bundles of tobacco, biscuit, beads, etc., in certain numbers or parcels before them, and placing bamboos or other articles desired of them opposite. That exchange was wanted they could understand, but the number of this or that article required for such exchange, they could not be made to comprehend.

"Mr. Homfray, who is very patient with them, has not been able to make them count beyond four or five. Under circumstances so disadvantageous to *them*, it is almost better to refrain from attempts to barter with them, rather than that they should think themselves under any compulsion, or, (though unintentionally), unfairly treated with. But they have still made themselves useful in other ways also; on one occasion their assistance was of much value in endeavours that were being made to lift a valuable lighter that had sunk laden with stone. They had assisted in heaving her up, and at length by diving got out

her ballast and lightened her. These people can dive and bring up comparatively heavy weights from a depth of six fathoms.

"On another occasion their cleverness in diving was turned to a good account, by employing them to clear the screw of H. M.'s Steamer *Dalhousie*, which was jammed by the coiling about it of a hawser, all efforts having failed to free the same. These people successfully accomplished this very difficult work for the reward of a few biscuits. They have been taught to make mats, at which work they are very handy, and did a good deal in that way in the construction of the Andaman Home on Ross Island.

"It may also be mentioned that they have been always very useful in affording information as regards the practicability of creeks, course of streams, and jungle routes. They are also anxious to show the trees, the wood, bark, or roots of which they make use, the earth they use for colouring their utensils, canes, and fibres, edible plants, etc. All this information will come to good account when more time can be spared for explorations into the interior.

"In the month of August Mr. Homfray, having occasion to visit Calcutta on duty, was permitted to take seven of the Andamanese with him. He speaks very highly of their good behaviour while away from Port Blair, and describes them as greatly interested in the new and various objects they encountered or were taken to see.

"In the month of April, 1866, a party of Andamanese at Mr. Homfray's request were permitted to accompany him on the occasion of a steamer being sent to Barren Island. It appears that they were greatly surprised at the sight of the volcano on this island, for which it would seem, (though some of the Archipelago Tribe were on board), they had no name, nor had they ever heard of the Island before.

"It is gratifying to report that since June, 1864, there has not been one single act of violence on the part of the Andamanese towards any of the inhabitants on the Settlement. One case of murder is known, however, to have occurred among themselves. On Ross Island a lad of the South Tribe, in a quarrel at night with one of the North Tribe about some food, stabbed him in the stomach with a piece of iron, and immediately took to the water, and swam to the mainland. He has

since been apprehended, and is in custody on Ross Island pending a reference to Government.

"Endeavours have been made by the Superintendent and Mr. Homfray to arrive at some approximate estimate of the Aboriginal population of these Islands, but it is impossible to obtain any facts on the subject.

"Mr. Homfray is of opinion that the whole of the tribes of the Great Andamans cannot far exceed 3,000 souls in population.

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